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FINAL REPORT

Author: Toivo Miljan

Title: Bilingualism in Finland

Div: VIII-B

Internal Project: 5

Report No: 19

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BILINGUALISM IN FINLAND

Comparative Studies. Data Book on Finland

Vol. I

BY

TOIVO MILJAN

including a statistical chapter by John G. Gordon

Prepared under the general supervision of
Prof. Kenneth D. McRae

with the research assistance of
John G. Gordon

and the editorial assistance of
Miss Judy M.C. Dibben

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COMPARATIVE STUDIES

Data Book on Finland (Vol. I)

This volume is one of a series presenting the findings of the Commission's programme of research into the experiences of certain, selected countries that are, like Canada, faced with problems of bilingualism and biculturalism. The data collected on Switzerland, Finland and South Africa are arranged in three separate volumes, one for each country. Similar -- though not identical -- arrangements apply also to Belgium. A further volume is projected which will contain such information as has been assembled on countries other than these four.

To facilitate the work of the Commission, the material has been organized so as to correspond with the subject matter of the six study groups. Pagination, whenever possible, has also followed this pattern. The general plan of presentation is, consequently, as follows:

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A general section of two parts, paginated in a simple numerical series, precedes the more specialized material. It should be of interest and concern to members of all study groups. The first part is an historical introduction, dealing with the linguistic, cultural and social development of the country in question, while the second part gives a more precise demographic and statistical profile, with particular reference to the present situation and recent trends. A list of books consulted is appended to each section.

Supervisor Kenneth D. MacRae

Toivo Miljan

February 1966

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

of the

SOCIAL and POLITICAL

DEVELOPMENT

of

BILINGUAL FINLAND

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I HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS OF THE TWO PEOPLES OF FINLAND

Two socially and ethnographically different peoples have inhabited the geographic region of the present state of Finland since prehistoric times: the Finns and the Swedes. The latter originate from Sweden and archaelogical, historic and linguistic data have traced conclusively their permanent settlement in Finland proper to the 11th century AD. In the Åland Islands and the Åboland littoral of south-western Finland continued settlement of Swedish-speaking people has been definitively traced to the Roman Iron Age. Temporary Swedish settlements and Swedish cultural influence in Finland proper can be traced still further back, but at least to the period of the Åland settlements.[1]

Regarding the origin of the Finns proper there is also uncertainty although there is some evidence that during the late Bronze Age (1400 - 500B.C.) there may have been some movement of Finns into their present homeland from South of the Gulf of Finland. Archaeological data indicates that it was not until the early years of the Christian era, i.e., up to and including the fourth century AD, that they came in considerable numbers.

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1. H. Dahl, Finlands svenskar (Helsingfors, 1956), pp. 2-7; E. Jutikkala, A History of Finland (New York 1962), pp. 4-9; for further discussion see E. Anthoni, "Den Svenska Folkstammens historia i Finland" in F. E. Sommerschield (ed.) Den Svenska folkstammen i Finland (Helsingfors, 1940); K. Hildén, The Racial Composition of the Finnish Nation (Helsinki, 1932); K.B. Wiklund, När kommo svenskarne till Finland? (Uppsala, 1901).

Migrations from South of the Gulf continued until the mid-12th century when the first attempt was made at Christianizing the Finns. They were then found to be divided into **three** tribes occupying sections separated by wide stretches of unbroken wilderness. In the southwest were the Suomalaiset - the people of Suomi; in what today is the province of Varsinais Suomi (Sw - Egentliga Finland) further east along the coast and stretching inland for some hundred of kilometers were the Hämälaiset, or people of Häme, in what today is the eastern portion of the province of Häme (Sw - Tavastia). The third tribe was found far to the east along Lake Ladoga, in the southern part of what today is the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of Karelia. These were the Karjalaiset - the people of Karjala (Sw - Karelia). The Suomalaiset and Hämälaiset were in close contact with each other and through their trade associations with Sweden in the west gradually acquired the cultural traits, the social outlook and the political forms that eventually placed Finland as one of the Western countries of Europe. The Karjalaiset, on the other hand, looked east. When they were christianized their conversion was to the Greek Orthodox Church of Novgorod, whereas the western tribes were christianized by the Roman Catholic religion of Sweden.[1]

It was with the Christianizing of the Finns that Finland, as a political entity, first began to form: there were three Swedish Christianizing Crusades to Finland in the 12th and 13th centuries, which turned into a long war with the Greek Orthodox

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1. R.R. Platt, Finland and its Geography (New York, 1955), pp. 5-7; Hildén op. cit., pp. 3-9.

Russians of Novgorod that ended in 1323 with the Treaty of Nöteborg, which effectively brought the Finns of Häme and Suomi under the sovereignty of Sweden. The political hegemony of Sweden, however, did not mean wholesale colonization of the mainland of Finland. The earlier scattered settlements of Sweden and the coastal areas were augmented slowly both by settlement in trading areas and by nobles to whom estates were granted by the Crown who brought in peasants to clear and work the land. From these settlements there was a gradual movement into the interior until it was met by the westward movement of the Finns who had at first sought the better farming and hunting areas of the interior rather than the coast. The Swedish colonization was primarily a movement along the south and southwestern coasts. This movement seems to have come to a standstill at the end of the 15th century, while it seems to have continued longer in the secondary area of colonization, in the north, along the Ostrobothnian coast.[1] During the period of colonization there seems to have been little, if any, friction between the Swedes and the Finns, and where they met there came to be ultimately a language boundary that has persisted with minor changes, down to the present time.[2]

The Swedish language and population at the end of the middle-ages thus constituted a continuous coastline belt stretching westward from the Bay of Viborg along the coast of the Gulf of Finland and then turning north at Åbo along the coast of the Gulf

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1. A.M. Myhrman, The Swedish Nationality Movement in Finland (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Chicago, 1937), pp. 81-82.

2. Platt, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

of Bothnia as far as the present city of Gamlakarleby. In width this belt varied but little from the present configuration in the southwest and the west, where the settlement area stretches inland for approximately 25 kilometers, but in places in Ostrobothnia becomes significantly larger,up to 60-70 kilometers.[1] In the eastern coastal area, east of Helsinki,Swedish settlement has today entirely disappeared, largely as a result of the dislocations of the cession of Karelia in 1944.

Finnish society was profoundly changed by the period of Swedish Christianization and expansion in Finland. But that these changes were not introduced at swords' point on an unwilling vanquished former enemy, cannot be emphasized strongly enough. The basic fact is that there never was a Swedish military conquest of Finland.[2] Instead there was a transfer of culture, as a result of the adoption of Christianity and the increased contacts based on trade and the Swedish defeat of Russian orthodoxy. In conjunction with the transfer of religion there was the imposition of an administrative order on an hitherto tribal society (or groups of tribes). That at the time of the Second Crusade of 1249 Earl Birger establish Royal dominion over Finland, while also establishing the royal elective dynasty of Sweden - the Folkkungs -

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1. Myhrman, op. cit., p. 82; Dahl, op. cit., p. 10.

2. "The Swedish expansion during this period was apparently not based primarily on force. Even recent Finnish historians, who are not otherwise free from a nationalistic bias, admit that the conquering Swedes treated the conquered with a leniency that was uncommon in those days." Myhrman, op. cit., p. 83, based on G. Nikander, "Det Svenska Bosättningsområdet under historisk tid," in Det Svenska Finland II (Vol. I-III, Helsingfors, 1919-1923), pp. 85-86.

is of secondary importance in the initial period of Swedish hegemony. Effective administrative control over the province of Finland was exercised only by the church until the modern period (in the early 1600's in the case of the Kingdom of Sweden-Finland although the inclusion of Finland as part of the royal system of Sweden, with its attendant responsibilities and privileges, was eventually to bring Finns full and equal citizenship in the realm.

In summary it can then be said that two different ethnographic groups settled in contiguous areas and came under the ecclesiastical, administrative and political domination of the ethnographic cousins of one of them. It is the basic fact that there never was a conquest by these cousins that explains the absence of that antagonism between Swedes and Finns which often appears when two different linguistic or nationality groups are brought in contact with each other. Unquestionably, other factors were also involved. The Finns and Swedes, for example, had not been living in separate worlds, isolated from each other, before the 12th century. Swedes had hunted, traded and even settled in Finland long before historic times. "In the absence of evidence to the contrary it appears safe to say that gradual, peaceful penetration rather than war and plunder had characterized the process."[1]

Also at the time of major contact little profound difference existed in the culture of the two groups - aside from language - in

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1. J. H. Wuorinen, A History of Finland (New York, 1965), p. 48.

the stage of social development or economic organization reached by them.[1] The absence of a strong centralized government in Sweden, the country's backward economic development, and the lack of valuable natural resources in sparsely populated Finland account for the absence of mounting economic exploitation leading to friction and violent clashes of interests.[2]

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1. H. Pipping in S.F.W. Kalender 1927 on pp. 84-85 (as cited by Myhrman, op. cit., p. 83) points out that it was the slightly superior legal and economic development of the Swedes that gave them the edge of advantage in free competition. They brought with them a more developed legal system and the ideal and practice of individual ownership in land, superior methods of agriculture and animal husbandry, while the Finns, still at this time practising burn-beating, were living and owning land in patriarchal clan communities.

2. After Wuorinen, op. cit., pp. 48-50.

II POLITICAL AND LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS TO 1808 - 9

"The absence of unfriendly relations between Swede and Finn during the seven centuries that preceded Finland's cession to Russia in 1809 is one of the remarkable phenomena recorded in the history of Europe. Common citizenship in their common state and a full sharing of the privileges and burdens of being subjects of the same crown offered poor soil for prejudice and antipathies productive of bloody rivalries. Instead, the historical experience slowly accumulated in the Middle Ages and greatly expanded during the centuries before the 18th gave the two peoples a common heritage whose presence and influence can still be seen in modern Sweden and Finland."[1]

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MODERN ERA: 1611-- 1809

The modern era down to 1809 in Finnish history is characterized by growing centralization and formalization of political administration, closer ties with Sweden, and the strictures attendant on full integration into the Swedish state. And it is with the reign of Gustavus II Adolphus (1611 - 1632) that the modern state in Scandinavia is ushered in: from this time on succession of the kingship becomes a more orderly process - no longer do dynastic struggles disrupt and dislocate the administration of the country; and for the first time, stability in the administration of the country becomes the order of the day. The

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1. Wuorinen, op. cit., pp. 49-50.

personal rule of the strong man (king) of the moment is largely replaced by conciliar rule cooperating with a quasi-constitutional monarch. And as time goes on, gradually conciliar rule expands to include ever increasing parts of the Diet, while the monarchy itself becomes more and more limited in powers. Naturally, the process is not a smoothly continuous one, for there are kings who for various reasons (personal ambition and ability, weak conciliar control, contemporary external influences) are able to rule as medieval autocrats. The consequence of these excesses, however, is a constitutionally limiting reaction in each case and a growth towards modern responsible and even representative government.[1]

Gustavus II Adolphus ascended the throne under conditions conducive to both limiting the King's powers and setting the struggle for power between the upper nobility and royalty - represented by kings bent on gaining absolute power - that had existed for centuries but had reached major proportions during the preceding half century. An important factor in the conciliation was the King's relative youth at the time of accession: the fact that he was only seventeen - and thus was four years under the age limit when, by the rules of royal inheritance he could be entitled to ascend the throne - permitted the Diet to require pledges and guarantees from the King in return for investiture of full rights of the kingship. The King pledged that he would not make war or peace, demand new conscription or taxes, or enact legislation

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1. The preceding represents an approximate overview of the views expressed by Jutikkala, op. cit., ch. 5 and 6, and Wuorinen, op. cit., ch. III, pp. 60-109.

without the consent of the Council of State and the Diet.

By these pledges, "tantamount to the ratification of a constitutional law",[1] both the Council and the Diet were recognized as authoritative organs of the state,[2] independently of the Sovereign. The upper nobility by this "constitutionalizing" action limited the "constitutional" power of the monarchy and formalized its authority within the state. But the upper nobility also accepted the duty of serving the realm as permanent members of the Council or holders of high administrative offices.[3] No longer were the nobles able 'to rule their own kingdom' as they themselves desired. They were bound by common duty as members of the Council. The Diet, on the other hand, proved in practice to be largely only a sounding board echoing the voices of the King and Council.

That this initial settlement did not fall by the wayside as the King grew in experience and power is due to both the versatile talents of administration and the sheer force of personality of the King. In the further development of the administrative and judicial branches of government into the modern, efficient organs of a World State, the King was aided in no small measure by one of the ablest First Ministers of modern times, the Chancellor of State, Count Axel Oxenstierna. Oxenstierna reached his exalted position in 1612, the year after the King's accession to the throne and

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1. As Professor Jutikkala succinctly puts it, op. cit., p. 95.
2. Authoritative, i.e., having authority in and of themselves.
3. The Council of the Realm was established in 1621 as a permanent organ of administration.

continued as the chief political and administrative officer of the realm for almost a half century, to 1654.

Administratively and constitutionally, in the light of historical hindsight, the high point of the reign of Gustavus II came two years after his death, when the reorganization of government as planned by Gustavus and Oxenstierna was carried through by Oxenstierna by means of a new constitution, the Form of Government of 1634.[1] The Form of Government defined the broad outlines of a strong central government, clarifying and confirming practices that had emerged during the preceding two decades. At the same time it provided a clearer prescription of the essentials of local government.[2] It also provided for the establishment of a regency to rule in the event of the monarch's absence, serious illness, or minority.[3] Specific principles regarding formation of regencies, including the chiefs of the five branches of the administration to be headed by the Chancellor of the realm were also embodied in it.[4]

By the "Constitution" of 1634 the central government in Stockholm was organized in five departments each in charge of a specific area of public affairs - justice, finance, army and navy, foreign affairs, and the king's correspondence. Each department,

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1. This may, "actually, if not formally, ...be regarded as the first Constitution of Sweden-Finland". Jutikkala, op. cit., p. 106.

2. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 69.

3. Gustavus II Adolphus spent half of his reign personally leading military operations beyond Sweden's borders, so both minority and absence were familiar problems to him.

4. Wuorinen, op. cit. p. 122.

headed by a state councilor (or in modern terms, a minister), formed a permanent central office with collegially delegated functions and with collegial responsibility for its activities.

Four aspects of the reforms formalized by the Form of Government and the Instructions based on it issued in 1635 had specific importance for the Finnish part of the Realm. Firstly, the Chancery included an official assisted by a clerk responsible for the preparation of Chancery matters (both interior and foreign) relating to Finland; secondly, a separate Finnish provincial office was established in the Department of Accounts; thirdly, proclamations, decrees and the like were to be issued in Finnish as well as Swedish; and fourthly, only one representative per district per House, rather than two or three as had been the case formerly, was to be sent to the Riksdag. The last mentioned provision was much appreciated, for the farmers in the more distant parts of the kingdom (particularly Finland) had regarded the right of participation as a heavy financial burden. Too often, the farmers' representative had in the past found himself short of moneys in Stockholm and had fallen easy prey to the "generous" assistance - in return for his vote - of the Crown or the nobles.

Formalization in government was carried on also at the provincial levels: for the first time the borders of the province were clearly drawn, responsibilities and rights and strict accountability of the government were set down. The governor, instead of the nobles holding castles, or bishops holding sees, became the overall head of the civil administration. Furthermore, through his responsibility for the maintenance of law and order, he was charged with

seeing that the courts administered law in an impartial manner.

"These changes and improvements [and other supplementing changes during the remainder of the century] in the area of provincial government were of great importance to Finland. Finland (and other more or less peripheral parts of the kingdom) had provided in the past, because of her relative isolation from the locus of central government, opportunities for venal and unscrupulous officials whose activities victimized the common folk. While mismanagement and corruption by no means disappeared after the reforms of the 1630's and later, the relatively elaborate and efficient devices for enforcing accountability in offices high and low gave the common people added protection and safeguards against exploitation. [For example] a special accounts office was established in Turku, [which] served as a go-between for Finnish provincial secretaries and the Department of Accounts in Stockholm; the general accounts for Finland were prepared by it."[1]

Thus we can see in Finland, not only growing and regularized formal contact with the central governmen (as opposed to the medieval royal household) but also the outlines of developing forms of government for the provinces of Finland. It was not, however, the intention of the Swedish government to set up an independent government in Finland. The development of local governmental institutions was merely the by-product of administrative necessity. A corollary of administrative efficiency, on the other hand, was to aim at strict uniformity between Swedish and Finnish

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1. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 71.

institutions. After 1680, the independent development seemingly promised by the reforms of 1630's disappeared, as the administrative order became more and more centralized - as Sweden took on the attributes of a world empire - and Finland lost her special status as she gradually became transformed into a group of provinces among the other provinces. Indeed, during the quarter century of autocratic rule of Charles XI at the end of the century the merger of Finland with the mother country became the ideological objective; una religio, una lingua, una lex, iidem mores was the political ideal of the age. With the loss of empire during the reign of his successor Charles XII, the dreams of Swedish might were not for a moment forgotten and Finland continued as the main battlefield between Sweden and Russia throughout the 18th century. Swedification of Finland, it seems, continued in the interests of binding the common folk in the Union - for they had provided significant parts of the Swedish armies in the past - and in the interests of providing a base of operations against Russia, in pursuit of the dream of Swedish mastery over Russia.[1]

With the abolition of absolutism after the death of Charles XII, an era of "parliamentarism" was introduced in Sweden-Finland. This "Age of Freedom" as it is commonly referred to, advanced significantly the concept of limited constitutionalism and the development

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1. Jutikkala, op. cit., pp 142 - 144.

of Parliamentary cabinet government. The Constitution of 1720 fixed the Council of the Realm as the highest department of government. Members of the Council were to be irremovable officeholders appointed by the King on the basis of nominations made by the Diet. In practice, rudimentary parliamentarism evolved when the King's power of choice of councillors was reduced to nothing, and when the Diet began to force councillors out of office by the threat of, or use of, the old technique of impeachment.[1]

The strides toward modern responsible government made in Sweden during this period were enormous and led to the emergence of responsible Cabinet government early in the nineteenth century. For Finland, however, the political and constitutional developments of this century were merely of a prescriptive character and became significant only in the period of autonomy in the 19th century. For the nobility and the burghers by this time had become totally Swedified and cared little for Finnish self-government - and they were firmly in the saddle; the clergy (half-Swedish and Swedish-led) and the peasants could but follow. Thus, despite (or perhaps because of) continued and

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1. Swedish ministers (State Councillors) have been subject to impeachment by the Diet (Riksdag) on the basis of their signature at least since 1634. Countersignature of the minister in charge of a particular department is required before a matter under the jurisdiction of his department becomes law. The responsibility then becomes his, not the King's - the other signer.

significant influence of Finnish born nobles and commons in the modern "representative" Council and Diet, and in the Army, no policies conducive to the growth of Finland as a state, or the people as a nation, were developed. Instead, Finland and its people became even more closely integrated into the Swedish state.

2. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the two centuries under review Finland remained a very sparsely populated country almost totally engaged in a mixture of farming and primitive forest industry. Population growth was slow and fluctuated a good deal because of Finland's location as the main battleground between the Swedish dreams of Russian conquest and the Russian desire to humiliate Swedish pretenses to great power status, and because of famine and disease. Population estimates are, therefore, difficult and inexact, but vary generally from about 250,000 in the 1550's to 400,000 in the 1620's, to about 300,000 at the close of the disastrous Northern War in 1721. By 1811, however, the population had risen to 1,053,000.[1]

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1. Wuorinen, op. cit., pp. 75-76, 181.

Agriculture consisted of self-sustaining mixed farming, including animal husbandry.[1] The status of the farmer during the whole of this period was that of a free yeoman, either "owning" his land,[2] or renting from a nobleman.[3] This agricultural system in Finland, except for increased productivity and improved techniques, remained pretty well the same until the land reforms of the 20th century. It is also due in some measure to membership in the Swedish state and the development of a complex of Swedish legal, customary and political rights throughout Finnish society that Czar Alexander I in 1808 granted Finland the special status of autonomy and did not reduce the Finnish common farmer to the status of serf by imposing the feudal system of Russia.

The other staple activity of the economy was forest industry. It was purely extractive in nature and was carried on to fill the export demands for naval stores of, successively, the Hansa group, the Dutch and the English.[4] This export trade also led directly to

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1. A great deal is known about farming at this time because of the royal (later state) exactions made on farms. "Land books" listing "tax units" covering Finnish farming date from 1539.

2. In theory all land originally was owned by the Crown and the Crown never surrendered title to the land to anyone, merely "giving" use of the land to the peasant. Since this was so, the tax paid to the Crown was merely a "rent" paid for the use of the land. Wuorinen, op. cit., pp. 81-82.

3. The Church plays no part in land - ownership having been stripped of its wealth in 1524 (and the decades following) when Gustavus Vasa officially broke with Rome.

4. The Dutch began replacing the Hansa merchants in Finland's foreign trade towards the end of the 16th century and by the close of the 1600 s monopolized Baltic trade to a degree comparable to the earlier Hansa domination. The Dutch in time suffered the fate of the Hansa, as they gradually lost control of the Baltic to the English at the end of 1700 s. By this time, too, Swedish, Finnish and other local shipping had developed sufficiently to challenge "foreign" competition. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 86.

the founding of cities. Gustavus Vasa in the 16th century, assiduously attempting to wrest the dominance of the Hansa cities over Swedish foreign trade, founded Helsinki (Helsingfors) in 1550 on the northern shore of the Gulf of Finland, opposite the Hansa city of Reval (Tallinn) on the Estonian coast, hoping thereby to channel a substantial part of the trade with Russia through Swedish hands.[1] The following century saw the founding of a score of new cities in the interests of mercantilistic control of the economy. All of these cities, however, remained small[2] and thus signified the comparative failure of the attempts at rechanneling Russian Baltic trade. Their failure to develop into large and important centres of trade, commerce and national life in general seems to have been caused partly by the fact that foreign trade was largely in the hands of foreign merchants who were interested only in exploitation. One of the results of this circumstance was the lack of growth - both in Sweden and Finland - of a strong burgher class - as in England and Holland - which could take a stand independently of both the nobility and the clergy. No class developed that could play a role commensurate with that of the mercantile class commonly associated with the West. As a group or as the third estate, the burghers in times of national crises stood against neither the increasing exactions of the Crown nor the claims of the Church and clergy.[3] Lowly as his status was, the peasant played a more significant role in the politics of the country - particularly in the 18th century - than did the burgher.

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1. He was unsuccessful and the city remained wholly without importance until in 1812 it became the capital of Finland.

2. Even by 1811 only 40,800 lived in cities and only Turku had a population over 10,000. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 181.

3. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 87.

3. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENTS

The Swedification frequently referred to above took several forms but in general was directly related to language. At first no conscious effort was exerted to force the use of Swedish in preference to Finnish but circumstances of modernization required the ever increasing transaction of business in writing. Now, since the importance of oral usage decreased, and written usage increased, and since Swedish had been used from the beginning of official written documents - centuries earlier - then naturally the importance of Swedish increased. And the more documents that had to be written, the more necessary was it for office-holders to have complete mastery of Swedish. Orally, Finnish was still widely used in the 17th century; it was even used as the language of command in the Finnish military units of the Swedish army. And, "judging from the fact that in semi-official correspondence between some military officers Finnish phrases occur here and there in the main Swedish body of the text, the Finnish nobility still had a command of the vernacular".[1]

As the country progressed this was to change. In 1649 new school regulations, replacing Finnish with Swedish as the supplementary language to Latin, went into effect. Another indication of the attrition of the Finnish language is the adoption by the clergy of Greek, Latin or Swedish surnames.

The increase in the arrival of functionaries from Sweden, as the ties became closer through the 17th century led to further

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1. Jutikkala, op. cit. p. 99.

Swedification. Indeed in the middle of the century complaints were heard in Finland about the great number of Swedish officials in the country. But apparently indignation was expressed by the peasants only when language difficulties caused trouble, and by the educated classes because of increased competition from the newcomers for the small number of offices.[1]

However, it is suggested by Jutikkala that nationalistic considerations did not determine the administrative policy of the Swedish government in regard to Finland in the 17th century.[2] Thus it seems that Swedification was largely passively accepted: it was not determined on the one hand by nationalistic policies, nor did it create a nationalistic reaction on the other. But the proportional strengthening of Sweden during its growth as a Great Power also had the effect of bolstering the dominant position of the Swedish language in the Finnish part of the Kingdom.[3]

The disastrous Great Northern War at the beginning of the 18th century brought about a drastic change in language usage. With the Russian conquest of Finland, early in the war, almost the entire office-holding class had fled to Sweden, and had become used to speaking Swedish, exclusively, there. With the conclusion of peace in 1720, these returning officials were completely Swedified and those that did not return were replaced by native Swedes. The

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1. Jutikkala, op. cit., p. 99
2. Ibid, p. 99.
3. Ibid, p. 142.

impetus given to Swedification by this disaster, may be illustrated by Porthan's words (written at the end of the century):

> As late as the beginning of this century the clergy, the majority of the gentlefolk in the country, and a large part of the merchants and bourgeoisie of the towns mostly used the Finnish language in intercourse among themselves. But how greatly has all that now changed and is daily changing more and more; and no compulsion whatsoever has been needed to bring this about. [1]

It is suggested by Colliander that the momentum of this non-compulsive Swedification had reached such proportions by the close of the Swedish period that, had the separation from Sweden been delayed for another two decades, it is conceivable and entirely probable that future developments might have duplicated the Irish situation, where English is the language of business and culture and Gaelic is a mere curiosity.[2]

The legacy of two centuries of modern Swedish dominance gives rise to mixed conclusions. Firstly, Finland was caught up in the progressive developments of government and administration in Sweden: by the time of cession to Russia in 1809 she had reached sufficient maturity to be able to resist integration into the Russian system and exist as an autonomous state based on the rich heritage of Swedish association. Secondly, the growing Swedification of the two centuries was to bring dividends, in that it was the advanced cultural level of the élite that strengthened and supported the

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1. Professor Henrik Gabriel Porthan, Finland's first modern historian (1739-1804), taught at U. of Turku 1762-1804; and published a series of 50 publications of research in Finnish history between 1784-1800. Jutikkala, op. cit., p. 142; also cf. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 33

2. Börje Colliander, Finländsk: ordet och begreppet (Helsingfors, 1945), p. 83.

orderly transfer to Finland in 1809 of the totality of the forms of the Swedish system of government and administration, and thus spared Finland from that fate of Russian hegemony suffered by the other former Swedish Baltic provinces. But at least one liability, also, was to make itself felt: the momentum of the continuous pressures of Swedification of the past carried on well into the era of autonomy and retarded early inclusion of the majority of Finnish society - the Finnish-speaking mass of the peasants - in the mainstream of political and economic life.[1]

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1. The conclusion is entirely mine and must not be attributed to the sources cited, on the basis of which the chapter is written, even though I believe that they would agree with me.

III THE GRAND DUCHY 1808 to 1906

1. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT TO 1863: AUTONOMY

In 1808 the incorporation of Finland into the Russian realm was given a mixed reception: the upper classes, having been alienated by the actions of the last two kings of Sweden, and being under the rationalistic and rationalizing influence of the Age of Enlightenment, nonchalantly welcomed their deliverance from the overlordship of the Swedish King; the peasants, on the other hand, remained fiercely loyal to the Swedish King and refused to give up the fight, thus prolonging the struggle for the conquest of Finland.

Hence, resistance among the population of Finland was a factor that Czar Alexander had to take into account, and consequently he announced that, out of concern for the welfare of his Finnish subjects, he wished them to send an elected deputation representing all four estates to St. Petersburg to discuss the political future of Finland. The elections of the deputies were conducted obediently, but at many of the election meetings it was strongly emphasized that the deputation was not to act with the prerogatives of the Diet.

When the Finnish deputation arrived in St. Petersburg it refused to act without the authority of the Diet. The Czar's benevolent response was simply that the Finnish Diet would shortly be convoked. Moreover, on the 1st of December, he decreed that matters pertaining to Finland were to be presented directly to him, bypassing the Russian ministers. This decree laid the basis for establishing Finland's special status; but it did not yet create the Finnish

state, for it alone did not provide the necessary substance of national autonomy.

The Czar, true to his word, summoned the estates before the end of hostilities with Sweden, on September 19, 1809. The Diet met at the little episcopal town of Porvoo (Borgå) in March,[1] and at this session Finland was established as an autonomous state. It would have been extremely difficult psychologically for the autocratic Czar to undertake the enactment of special constitutional laws for conquered lands, but in pledging to respect the rights hitherto enjoyed by the inhabitants of Finland, he could also, without exciting amazement in Russia, ratify existing laws. Hence the Czar ratified all the existing laws of Sweden-Finland in force at the time prior to annexation in 1808, including the Form of Government of 1772 and the Act of Union and Security of 1789 that amended the previous act of 1772.

A dual agreement was made in the Diet: the Finnish people pledged their fealty to the Russian Czar, who, in turn, ratified "the religion and fundamental laws of the land, as well as the privileges and rights which each estate in the said Grand Duchy, in particular, and all the inhabitants, in general, be their position high or low, have hitherto enjoyed". The ancient appellation of Grand Duchy that had been given Finland was now endowed with real significance, and the Czar himself affirmed in his concluding speech to the Diet that the Finns had been "elevated to membership in the family of nations". In this way then the Finns contracted

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1. The first Diet of 125 members met from March to July 1809. See Wuorinen, op. cit., pp. 114-117.

with the Emperor of all the Russians on their future status before the conclusion of peace; Finland never became a Russian province, as would most likely have happened had the Diet been convened after the Peace Treaty had taken effect.[1] The peace treaty with Sweden, signed in September at Hamina, in which Sweden ceded the eastern half of the kingdom to Russia, to the Finns was merely an anti-climax devoid of real significance. The Finnish people - through the elected deputation, and the elected Diet - for the first time had made their own arrangements. That this was possible depended in no small measure on the heritage of Swedish rights and privileges, and upon the Czar's liberal admiration of these.[2]

> Finland had been part of the Swedish kingdom and her inhabitants had participated as subjects of the Swedish monarch in all administrative affairs. In their new position, the Finns had no share in political administration in Russia, of course, and the ruler of Finland was determined by the Russian Order of Succession. On the other hand, the Finns were able to exercise within the Grand Duchy all the authority not reserved for the Czar as Grand Duke. This authority did not amount to much, but the constitutional laws, which were reaffirmed by each Czar in turn, guaranteed a certain minimum extent of it.[3]

In the Diet of 1809 the Czar had by his ratification of the existing "laws, rights and privileges" contracted with the duly elected representatives of the Finnish people to become, in effect,

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1. Jutikkala, op. cit., pp. 186-188.

2. "Both the nature of the Swedish constitution and Alexander's ideas regarding government, constitution and the like were... part of the consideration that made possible the exceptionally favourable status Finland enjoyed after 1809." Wuorinen, ibid. p. 128.

3. Jutikkala, op. cit., p. 188.

a constitutional sovereign ruling on the basis of the existing constitutional arrangements. These arrangements were to be found in the Form of Government of 1772 and its amendment, the Act of Union and Security of 1789, promulgated, to be sure, for the state of Sweden-Finland, but of equal force in all the parts of that former kingdom. On the basis of these constitutional laws the sovereign had the authority to decide on public offices as he saw fit, but he did not have the right to dismiss officials without legal examination and trial; on the contrary, the Act of Union and Security guaranteed the irremovability of the majority of officials. The ruler, also had the right to convoke the Diet, but without its consent he could not enact new laws or even amend old ones, or require the payment of new taxes. The areas of jurisdiction of the Diet by 1809, included: the law of the constitution - and its revision - class privileges, general civil and criminal statutes, the foundations of the military establishment, the church system, the state bank and currency laws. Beyond this the ruler had the right to issue decrees in regard to all matters not embodied in the laws enacted by the Diet.[1]

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1. See Jutikkala, op. cit., pp. 188-189 and Wuorinen op. cit., pp.124-13 on the "Constitution" of Autonomous Finland

    1. Suffice it to add a brief explanation: the (deliberate?) vaguenes of the two constitutional documents can be seen from the one proviso that the ruler could not make new laws without the consent of the Diet and the other proviso that the ruler could make decrees on all subjects not covered by the Diet. With a little good will it could be made to work, suggests Professor Jutikkala, and Alexander I apparently had that in abundance, at least toward Finland. pp. 189 et seq.

(continuation next page)

In organizing the administration of autonomous Finland the point of departure was furnished by the institutions of Sweden, which were altered to the extent necessitated by the personal absence of the sovereign. In 1809 a government council, to be composed of Finnish citizens, was established as the highest administrative organ of the State. In 1816 the Czar conferred upon this organ the name of Senate in order to make plain the fact that it was not subordinate to the highest Russia administrative body of the same name, but rather on the same plane with it. The Senate combined advisory, executive and judicial functions and consisted of two divisions, the Department of Economy,[1] and the Department of Justice. The former was in charge of the various branches of the administration,

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cont'd from page 29.

2. Professor Wuorinen points out: "While the answer to the whys and the wherefores must be partly tentative, it appears that Alexander's main purpose was to arrange matters in Finland in a manner that would eliminate, or at least greatly reduce, dissatisfaction and resentment over and opposition to the turn things had taken....This could be done, easily enough by pointing to the actual results.... The country had its own, separate government. Its laws, administration, and other traditional institutions were, for all practical purposes intact..." p. 128.

3. The terminological confusion is cleared up when it is remembered that the Czar had the upper hand, and after all, had done a great deal for the Finns. So, partly on the basis of this understanding, and partly on the basis of Swedish custom, in matters relating to economic affairs the Czar had a free hand. But in 19th century Finland these matters involved nothing more than customs duties and taxes. But taxes were securely within the competence of the Diet, so that left the Czar with jurisdiction over nothing more than customs duties in the area of economic affairs.

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1. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 118. Wuorinen points out that "Economy" is a clumsy English translation, which does not come close to expressing the idea of "Government" that the Finnish term expresses.

while the latter constituted the Supreme Court of Finland. The membership of the Senate was equally divided between the two branches, numbering 14 at creation, but grew to 20 by 1820. The members of the Department of Economy were in charge of the standard governmental departments (or ministries) such as finance, church and education, interior, agriculture, trade, public works, commerce, industry, justice, war, etc. All members of the Senate were appointed by the Czar for a renewable term of three years. For the first Senate in 1809 the Diet was given an opportunity to suggest the names of the appointees, but later appointments were made without such recommendations.[1]

Over a period the Senate developed into an effective home government, subject, of course, to the will of the absent Czar. This will, however, was not arbitrarily imposed as a rule: "whenever the Senate was not entitled, or did not dare, to make a decision itself, it drew up a report on the matter, and the Czar often took into account the views therein expressed."[2] In addition to the Czar's own will the Senate had to contend with the Governor-

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1. And for a good reason: the Diet was not called again until 1863. There seem to be two reasons for this: (1) later Czars were not quite as concerned with Finland as Alexander I; (2) Finland's Senate was left pretty much alone to govern Finland; (3) the 19th century Finland (until about the third quarter) was not dynamic economically, socially or politically and the Senate was in firm "conservative" control. Hence there was little need to make new laws or change existing ones.

2. Jutikkala, op. cit., p. 190.

General, who titularly was head of the Senate, but who because of his usually deficient command of the Swedish language, did not ordinarily attend the Senate's meetings. The Governor-General, apart from the first holder of the office - Svinhufvud, was always a Russian, and had the right to make his own recommendations to the Czar, which often radically deviated from the views of the Senate. The Senate, however, had an additional ally in the office of the Minister-Secretary of State - a Finnish citizen resident in St. Petersburg - who had the right to appear directly before the Czar, bypassing the Russian government entirely, and plead for the case of the Senate. In this sense the Senate had a twin close to the Czar's throne, but unfortunately, the Minister-Secretary of State also had the right to present independent recommendations to the Czar. One could perhaps suggest that the Czar, already burdened with three different advocates, did not wish to add yet a fourth, and more vocal one, the Diet.

The system as it developed appears to resemble the modern democratic type with a quasi-cabinet responsible not to an Assembly, but to the constitution and the Czar, with a vice-chairman, who took on the attributes of a Prime Minister (because of the Governor-General's difficulty in communication and his absence), and with ministers holding office for a set term and being reappointed on the basis of having the Czar's confidence.[1]

As the century proceeded, so did the proliferation of governmental offices. The first of the specialized subordinate offices

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1. This 19th century development in Finland bears some resemblance to the 18th century cabinet development in England under Walpole and George I.

appointed to assist the government was the Medical Directorate, in 1811. Later in the same year the Post Office and the Directorate of Public Works emerged. And as the area of governmental activity and concern expanded so the number of these offices grew, to 19 by 1914.[1] But there was yet another important and independent official, the civil procurator (justitieombudsman). He served as an observing, probing public servant whose responsibility was to ascertain that members of the government and officials and civil servants performed their functions according to the requirements of the law, and that legality and justice in general prevailed.[2]

Significant features of self-government and autonomy, after 1809, were the independent Finnish control over school, church and university. And they continued to develop, almost undisturbed by the new political status of the country on bases that generations of pre-nineteenth century life and experience had built. The school system was yet modest and a half century was to pass before the beginning of state direction of an integrated national educational system. The Lutheran Church returned to its privileged position as the state church, undisturbed by the influx of some 40,000 Greek Orthodox citizens into the country as a result of return to Finland

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1. Data from Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 118.
This type of administration - the independent governmental authority responsible to a particular ministry (the minister and the top policy organs of the ministry)- "styrelse" in Swedish,"keskusvirasto" in Finnish - has remained an important part of the administration of government in Finland to the present time. The "styrelse" could be compared to a Canadian regulatory board, except that it is responsible to a ministry, not the minister solely, as in Canada, and that the decisions of the "styrelse" all operate on the basis of and come under the review of administrative law. As a rule,no area of discretion exists

2. Wuorinen, ibid.,p. 118.

of areas annexed by Russia in earlier wars in the 18th century. The University of Turku, moved to Helsinki in 1828, received new and generous grants which turned it into a vigorous centre of learning that was to play a dynamic role in the cultural and political life of the nation after 1830.[1]

In the area of citizenship, Finns had been before 1808-9 Swedish subjects and citizens in the full sense of these terms. After 1809 they were citizens of Finland, clearly distinguished from the Russians - and all other foreigners, including Swedes - who could acquire citizenship only according to the Finnish law of naturalization. Further evidence of Finland's attainment of the status of state, was the fact that - apart from her own constitution, her own laws, her own Diet, her own administrative system, her own "High Commission" representing matters directly to the Sovereign, and her own school, church, university and other social institutions - Russian subjects, subjects of the autocrat of all the Russias, enjoyed no civil rights whatever under the constitutional Grand Duke of Finland. As concrete evidence of the separateness of the constitutional Grand Duchy from the autocratic Empire of Russia was the customs boundary maintained by Finland against the rest of the empire.[2]

In conclusion we need but point out, that thanks in large measure to the legacy of the Swedish period the social system of Finland continued to operate satisfactorily until the stresses and

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1. Wuorinen, ibid., pp. 120-121.

2. Jutikkala, op. cit., pp.189-190; Wuorinen, ibid., pp. 121-123.

strains of the modern world - imposed from abroad through direct contact with the West - in the second quarter of the century caused demands for change, became forces for change in the third quarter and set in motion a slow modernization that was brought to fulfillment only in the period of independence in the present century. The political system - almost a wholesale continuation of the 18th century Swedish system - responded so well to developments in the social and institutional life of the country that major changes were not necessary for almost a century until the social forces combining with economic forces became political in nature. That the whole process of social, institutional, economic and political modernization was a slow process of evolution as in England and the Western world, rather than revolution as in Russia and her empire, is due entirely to the legacy of the long period of Swedish domination and partnership.[1]

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1. My own opinion, arrived at by digesting the two main sources (Wuorinen and Jutikkala) and the references to the period under discussion in a variety of other material used for diverse parts of this study.

2. NATIONAL AWAKENING

A. The Finnish National Movement: The Fennomen.

As the Czar noted in a declaration to the Porvoo Diet in 1809, "Finland has been raised among the nations", so the Finns appear to have declared, "We are not Swedes, we can never become Russians, we must be Finns."[1] It was as a result of autonomy that the idea arose among the Finns that the Finnish language -- the language of the vast majority -- should not remain in the secondary position it had been in up to this time, but should be, indeed must be, gradually raised to form the main vehicle of national culture. Together with the changed political circumstances, 18th Century romanticism spread through Finland, helped originate a Finnish language literary movement and effectively brought about national awakening. Thus a movement, demonstrating the full development of the individuality of the nation, began. This movement was rather vague and haphazard in objective and organization at the beginning, but as the century progressed it consolidated, gathered momentum, became political and for a time completely dominated political discussion, and finally brought about complete Finnization of national and social life in Finland by the first quarter of the present century. The movement was

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1. The oft-repeated slogan is credited to A.I. Arwidson. Myhrman, op.cit., p. 15.

carried by several interrelated organizations throughout the years, with a variety of names, but in historiography it has become known under the collective rubric, The Fennoman Movement, a name first bestowed on the movement by its opponents. The name, insofar as it denotes a Finnish cultural orientation is correct for all phases, but insofar as it includes connotations of Finnish nationalist overtones it does not become applicable until the Young Finn (or the Young Fennoman) phase in the 1840's and 50's.[1]

The intellectual roots of Fennomanism can be traced to Henrik Gabriel Porthan who throughout his long term as Professor of Finnish History at the University of Åbo continuously expanded historical research on Finland and instilled scores of students with pride in Finland's past. But it was not until about 1820 when the romantic ideas transmitted from Germany[2] united with Porthan's historical "homeland" tradition that the foundations for the Fennoman movement were laid. A group of young intellectuals at the university joined in their desire for the development of a

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1. For a fuller account of Fennomanism see J.H. Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland (New York, 1931), especially chapters, II and V and Myhrman, op. cit., ch. III.

2. See Wuorinen: Nationalism, pp 68 - 71, re Herders and Schröters influence on the Arwidson group. See also fn. #53 on p 249.

united national consciousness. They were a vocal group that did not hesitate to make their views heard, and they criticized forcefully through the journals Aura, Mnemosyne, and Åbo Morgonblad, the existing conditions, especially the seeming lethargy of officials, and suggested remedies. In presenting these views to their readers the most able and vocal propagator of the group was a young history lecturer, Adolf Iwar Arwidson. As background to his attack, Arwidson evolved a theory of nationalism which bears brief mention since it formed the basis of a later and more permanent Finnish nationalist creed.

According to Arwidson, language was the main criterion of nationality. All who speak a common tongue constitute a national and indivisible whole. They are united by ties far stronger than the bonds through which a set of institutions or a state bind people together. And language reflects the "disposition, character and habits of a people"; it is "the result of age-long changes to which climate, political institutions, trade, agriculture, industry, science and art, as well as political fortunes, have alike contributed". [1] On this basis he pleaded for a national aim to develop the national individuality peculiar to the

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1. Wuorinen: Nationalism p. 52

Finns through language, customs, art - "culture" in general - but particularly through language, the most conspicuous distinguishing mark of nationality.[1]

Arwidson's testy criticism of officialdom forced the closure of his group of journals, the loss of his lectureship, and his removal to Sweden. In the light of hindsight Arwidson's services to the Finnish cause, suggests Professor Wuorinen in his 1931 study of Finnish nationalism, Nationalism in Finland, consisted in sowing the seed, for it would be more than twenty years before his ideas were to be seriously and consistently pursued and built upon by a new group of Finnish nationalists.[2]

In the intervening years, however, perhaps the most important groundwork for a flowering of nationalism was prepared. The Saturday Club was formed among the students of the University as an informal discussion club, some years before the removal of the University to Helsinki in 1828. The club became of fundamental importance in the development of a literary "nationalism" in the 30s and 40s when the original members continued to meet and propagate their early ideas. It has been suggested that this is the most remarkable society that has ever existed in Finland, for among its membership it

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1. See Wuorinen: Nationalism, pp. 47-55, esp. pp. 52-53.
2. Wuorinen, ibid.,p. 55.

included nearly all the men, then living, who were destined to prominence in the fields of letters and education in the second and third quarters of the century. Elias Lönnrot, Johan Vilhelm Snellman, Johan Ludwig Runeberg, and Zachris Topelius and Matthias Alexander Castrén.[1] The central aim of the society was the promotion of Finnish national consciousness and the improvement of the material and intellectual life of the nation. To further these aims the Society founded in 1831 the Helsinki Lyceum - a landmark in the modernization of the secondary school in Finland - and the Finnish Literature Society. The specific reason for the founding of the latter was to enable Lönnrot to continue the publication of folksongs which he had been gathering for some time. The general objectives of the Society were stated as follows:

> Because it is the Society's aim to work for the cultivation of all subjects that are related to a knowledge of the Fatherland or to the development of the Finnish language, the Society intends to collect all printed and written records concerning Finland's antiquity, mythology, geography, statistics, and the Finnish language and poetry; Finnish songs, old sayings and antique objects, as well as all publications, irrespective of subject matter, written in Finnish; and whenever possible to publish works useful for the development of the Finnish language, history and literature ...[2]

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1. Myhrman, op.cit., p. 16, re: judgment of A. Reade, Finland and the Finns (N.Y. 1917); see also Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 77.
   Note that Lönnrot, Snellman and Runeberg passed their University entrance examinations about a year before Arwidson's case aroused so much interest, and about a year before he left the country.

2. Quoted by Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 77.

The first and greatest accomplishment of the society was the publication of Lönnrot's Kalevala in 1835, made possible by funds raised by the Society. A second enlarged, definitive version appeared in 1849. Between the publication of the two editions Lönnrot and the Kalevala had excited admiration and had become famous all over Europe, but the impact of the author and his creation was most potent at home. For the Kalevala was a carefully edited (and largely rewritten) compilation of age-old Finnish folksongs passed orally from generation to generation of rune singers extolling the virtues and the heroic past of the Finnish people. In epic quality it is comparable to the Homeric epics, and for a time it was thought that Lönnrot had merely edited the thousands of separate runes he had collected, shortening and integrating them suitably for publication. But research has subsequently demonstrated that the Kalevala is to a higher degree than was realized at first of Lönnrot's own authorship. Nevertheless, its initial impact lay in demonstrating to the Finnish people the "undiscovered" literary treasures in their past, in instilling pride in their past and in arousing a homeric or Kalevalan enthusiasm for duplicating that past in the future.[1] Through the impetus given by Lönnrot's early success the Finnish Literature Society became a centre of

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1. Jutikkala, op.cit., p. 205; Wuorinen, Nationalism, pp. 72 - 75, 77 - 78.

patriotic studies of every description,thus fulfilling its stated objectives admirably. Beginning in 1841 it sponsored the publication of Suomi, an annual learned review of literature, the humanities in general and the sciences, which has appeared annually since then. Thus, at the time of the disappearance of the Saturday society in the closing thirties,its main offshoot had already become the mainspring of Finnish nationalism and its intellectual centre, propagating a low-keyed Finlandic, linguistic (patriotic-cultural) nationalism, through publication of folk-poetry, text books in Finnish, dictionaries and scientific works of every description.[1]

To fully indicate the literary developments set in motion by the Finnish Literature Society, Lönnrot and the Kalevala,we must include two other illustrious names in Finnish literature. The first is Alexis Kivi (1834-72) who, inspired by the Kalevala, became the first writer to emerge from the ranks of the common county folk. His novels, the first written in the Finnish language, gave ample proof of the Finns' capacity for culture; and his dramas gave birth to the Finnish theatre.[2] The second is the national poet Johan Ludwig Runeberg (1804-1877) who published in 1832 the first of many poems destined

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1. Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 78; Myhnman, op.cit., pp.15-19.

2. See Jutikkala, op.cit., p.205. His first novel was Kullervo (1864), and his Seven Brothers (1870) has become internationally known. His drama, Cobblers the Earth (1864) is the first drama written and performed in Finnish.

to have a profound influence on the patriotic-nationalist sentiments of Finns, both Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking, both the upper classes and the common folk. In the best known of his early poems "The Elk Hunters" Runeberg describes the life of the common peasant in terms that endear and explain the peasant to the reader. Indeed, among the upper classes Runeberg generally became known as a man who had a complete insight into the common folk of Finland and as one who could explain this insight in clear and captivating terms. "In his poems", said one of his contemporaries, "we recognized ourselves and felt that we were one people, that we had a fatherland and were Finns". "We are Finns, the voice of the poet told us, in Swedish, and we understood him"[1] Indeed, since Runeberg wrote in Swedish it has been suggested that his early poetic products were of greater immediate significance to the nationalist movement than the Kalevala, for "through them the Swedish-speaking upper class intellectuals found the people".[2]

It is as interesting to note that the Finnish national-patriotic movement was first given expression

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1. Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 79, cites A. Schauman Från Sex Årtionden i Finland, 2 Vols (Helsinki 1892-93), Vol. I, pp. 24, 55-56; and B. Estlander, Elva årtionden i Finlands historia, 4 vols (Helsinki 1919-1930), Vol. I, pp. 79-83.

2. Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 79, cites Söderhjelm "Runebergs betydelse som skald" in För andlingar och Uppsatser, XVIII, pp. 1-21.

in the Swedish language, for not only Runeberg, the national poet, but even Snellman, the father of Finnish nationalism, always wrote in Swedish. And the mother-tongue of the members of Saturday Club and the Finnish Literature Society in the formative decades of the thirties and the forties was Swedish.[1] This phenomenon, of course, was the result of the historic legacy of Swedish being the language of civilization and the carrier of culture in Finland. But although the early literature was written largely in Swedish, it gave expression to love of Finland and aroused a national feeling in the educated class by dipping deeply into the Finnish language's folkloristic heritage of Finland. The main practical problem in the earlier phases of the Finnish linguistic-cultural movement arose from the inability of the educated class to use the language whose promotion provided the idealistic content of their lives. But this did not stop the movement's leaders and retarded only slightly the development of the language itself. The problem was attacked with characteristic logic by the leaders, beginning with themselves: as early as the 1840's intellectuals began to found societies which bound

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1. Even the records of the latter society were kept in Swedish. Jutikkala, op.cit., p. 205.

members to use Finnish "at every opportunity", those with a "knowledge of their mother tongue" immediately, and the others as soon as they had learned enough. This, remember, at a time when Swedish was in total control of all social, political and educational life!

Particular services in the cause of the nationalistic movement were performed by Johan Vilhelm Snellman - the "father" of Finnish nationalism - who converted a great part of the educated class to the belief that it was a necessary condition of life to the Finnish nation that the Finnish language become the vehicle of civilization, that the people must become aware of their national consciousness, and that the educated class must accept the Finnish language as its own language and take up the leadership of the common people, people who spoke and understood only the Finnish language - the backbone of the Finnish nation. For Snellman was a Hegelian philosopher who believed that language was the real sign of nationality and the main expression of nationality. Yet, though with Snellman we come to the beginning of a conscious nationalism in the forties and fifties, that is to become a political force that will sweep all before it, neither Smellman nor anyone else thought that there were two nations - or even nationalities - in Finland, although two languages were spoken. Rather,

he believed that the "one indivisible Finnish nation should become homogenous... by having only one language".[1] But Snellman and his young compatriots - called Young Fennomen to distinguish them from the older Fennomen who were more moderate and chiefly interested in language and literature - were not immediately successful in sweeping all before them.[2] The slogan"'Finnish is my mother tongue and Finland is my fatherland', was proclaimed often enough - in Swedish - but few were able or willing to translate [it] into an actual accomplishment."[3]

And indeed it can be suggested that the short-run failure represented by the slogan created antagonism among the upper class and its leaders with a consequent resistance to all change. This, in turn, gave rise to a 'class-nationalistic' identification which brought an upper class Swecomanian 'class-nationalism' into being. These 'class-nationalisms'then developed

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1. E.N. Setälä, The Language Fight in Finland (Helsingfors, 1919), p. 13.

2. Myhrman, op.cit., pp. 21-22.

3. Wuorinen, Nationalism, p. 84 cites Fosterländskt Album II, 58 et seq.

rather quickly in the space of twenty odd years, circa 1880-1906, into true 'nationality-nationalisms' on a linguistic-racial (German volk, Swedish folk) basis.[1]

More precisely, Snellman's ideas met with great opposition in bureaucratic circles. In the beginnning the opposition had little to do with the question of nationality: the Swecomen did not at all approve of Snellman's theory that language was the expression of the national spirit: to them language was merely an instrument. The Swecoman arguments against the Fennoman movement were at this time the same as those made earlier in the 19th Century in reply to the charges of the Åbo Romantics and others, that is, that the Fennoman indictment of the existing order of things was so imprecise as to be meaningless. Their demand that Finnish become the 'national language' of the country was not built on specific cases or individuals who illustrated that injustice and suffering were imposed on the common folk because Swedish and not Finnish was the language of the land. That this circumstance often constituted a nuisance, an irritating inconvenience, and a galling encumbrance goes without saying. But specific illustrations and miscarriages of justice and the imposition of unusual burdens or disabilities on the Finnish-speaking population - such as loss of property rights, denial

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1. My simplified view of the developments of circa 1860-1906, but in essential agreement with the fuller and detailed account of Wuorinen, in both his Nationalism, and his History, ch. VI.

or limitation of the right to vote, difficulties in entering the trades or professions, impairment of the individual citizens' liberties under the law, and the like - traceable to the fact that Swedish was the official language and Finnish was not, were not a part of the bill of particulars offered by the Fennomen.[1]

Professor Wuorinen continues by pointing out that the absence of specific charges and the reliance of the Fennomen on a generalized indictment creates strong presumptions that the day by day consequences of the language situation bore less heavily upon the average Finns than the nationalists claimed. The main part of their insistent efforts was not primarily concerned with rights and wrongs specifically affecting the anonymous many; they were determined rather that the classes must become "national" by becoming Finnish in language as well as spirit. It is this circumstance that appears to offer an explanation of another aspect of the nationalist argument, namely, the heavy accent placed on the Finnish language as an abstract concept.[2]

We have already pointed out earlier that the Fennoman movement was at first primarily a linguistic and literary movement. Indeed, the main service that the movement performed in the interest of the Finnish nation was to bring

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1. Wuorinen, History, p. 163.
2. Ibid, pp. 163-164.

the much maligned Finnish language to a level of respectability. However, wherever and whenever language is concerned, it soon becomes a matter of emotionalism, and in the case of Finland the situation did not differ. Several writers have pointed out the linguistic-patriotic-nationalistic emotional mélange that was the Fennoman movement, among them the Finnish-American historian Professor Wuorinen. The following several paragraphs illustrate Professor Wuorinen's views in this matter.[1]

> The nationalist literature and agitation abounds in references to the 'rights' of the Finnish language, its 'lowly status', 'humiliating condition', 'down-trodden and shameful circumstances', 'disgraceful situation', the 'oppression' and 'indignities' visited upon it in the past, and the like. The language was described and considered as if it were 'a person existing in the contemplation of the law', capable of asserting rights or suffering wrongs and damages as do human beings. While the implication no doubt usually was that the 'rights', 'humiliation', 'oppression', and the rest referred to Finnish-speakers and not merely to the language, the deliberate and frequent use of the abstraction suggests once again that the workaday world did not readily provide convincing, concrete, and meaningful instances of the 'oppression' of Everyman because of the language situation.[2] The nationalists therefore spoke and argued from and on the basis of lofty principle.
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> The principle was egalitarian, democratic, and morally unassailable. It placed the requisites of the common good ahead of the interests of the individual. It urged ceaselessly the necessity of love of country and people. Patriotism, national unity, linguistic unity -- these were put forth as the high goals for which patriots with a capacity for genuine self-sacrificing devotion in the service of the people should ever strive.
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> The opponents of the Finnish cause frequently contended that the Finnish language was "undeveloped" and therefore could not be used as an official language until some time in the future. This idea had been frequently put forth years before champions of the "Swedish cause" appeared after the 1850s. It was effectively used by them and seemed, in fact, to have been shared by some of the Fennomen as well.

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1. See also Wuorinen, History, fn #4 on p. 164.
2. Ibid.,pp.164-165.

The claim that Finnish was "primitive" and "undeveloped" and therefore could not serve as the language of law, administration, and government or for general cultural and related purposes was a significant part of discussions regarding the aims and merits of the nationalist movement. It is, however, worth special mention because the claim went largely unchallenged, with but little attempt to question or refute it. Yet the challenge was clearly called for and the refutation plainly available to perceptive interpreters of the facts.

The obvious fact was that the problem was not one involving the inadequacies of the Finnish language. The problem was a lack of individuals, whether in the world of learning, administration, the law, or in business, sufficiently energetic and enterprising to become fully masters of Finnish. Religious and theological literature had been available in increasing volume since the middle of 1500s. The basic law of the land, that of 1734, had been published in Finnish in 1759. Lonnrot's contributions to his science had led to a growing volume of publications since the 1830s. The first Finnish newspaper had appeared in 1776; a Finnish-language press of modest dimensions had come into being by the 1860s. When Y. Koskinen published his Finnish-language professorial dissertation in 1862, and more especially when he began to publish his history of Finland in 1869 - the third edition of his work (1881) was a substantial tome of over 750 pages - he was demonstrating that Finnish, quite sufficient for the writing of a major historical study, was an adequate vehicle in the hands of anyone who had taken the trouble to learn the language.

Not the least fascinating aspect of the language debates and discussions in the days of Snellman and later was the fact that they did not bring to the fore, in response to the claim that Finnish was still too "primitive", any resolute propounder of these obvious relevancies. The contention that Finnish was "undeveloped" was allowed to stand, virtually immune from close scrutiny or outright rejection. It therefore served as a cover behind which the unenterprising and the sluggish, as well as the outright opponents of the Finnish cause, could conveniently and safely hide. It also aided the formulators of the Swede-Finn nationalist ideas that began to emerge in the 1850s.

It is interesting to note that the feeling of inferiority that Professor Wuorinen speaks of in the preceding paragraphs appears latent even as late as 1919 when Professor

Setälä, Professor of Finnish language and literature, Minister of Government, and Member of the Diet, wrote his monograph The Language Fight in Finland . On page 16 he says:"the greatest results the Finnish movement has gained are in the field of popular education. Above all the Finnish language, which in the beginning of the last century was used only in religious and agricultural writings and in popular books of the simplest kinds, was formed through the educational work into a language of culture, in which we can present Homer, Sophocles, Molière and Shakespeare, as well as all kinds of modern fiction, which can be used as well in philosophy as in mathematics, in physics as well as in the science of law and philology." That in the next sentence he says, "this work of development was brought about in almost as many decades as other countries required centuries for," shows that Professor Wuorinen's indictment is correct, that is to say, the Finnish language existed in a well developed form and but needed users of a high quality and calibre to put it into culturally useful form.[1]

This then was the greatest service that the Fennoman movement performed for Finland, to make the language of the backwoods the carrier of the culture. That it succeeded

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1. Setälä, op. cit., p.16.

admirably in this is demonstrated by statistics of the publication of newspapers in the 1890s,[1] and by Professor Setälä's own admission that, "there is [sic] now in Finland Finnish-speaking readers who buy every year a great number of books, both original ones and translations. Such a large and expensive work as the Tietosanakirja, a Finnish encyclopedia, got in a short time more than twenty thousand subscribers, and the whole edition is now out of sale".[2]

The second great service that the Fennoman movement performed for the Finnish nation was to create a national political consciousness which in time was able to produce the necessary prerequisites of full nationhood. Professor Setälä himself admits this by saying that "only the national and political consciousness, which is created through this civilization has made it possible to the Finnish people to receive and defend the political independence of the country, when the great events of the world made this independence possible."[3] This historically important development in the life and growth of the Finnish nation and the Finnish state, can perhaps be demonstrated most effectively by reference to the development of parties in Finland.

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1. Indeed between 1776-1871, 61 newspapers and periodicals were published in Finnish, compared to 81 in Swedish. R.A. Renwall, Finlands Periodiska Litteratur (Helsingfors, 1871). By 1896, 51 newspapers were published in Finnish compared to 44 in Swedish. Wuorinen, History, p. 178.
2. Setälä, op. cit., p. 16.
3. Setälä, op.cit., p. 16.

Political parties developed in Finland at a relatively late date for two reasons: firstly because the Diet was not summoned at all between the years 1809 and 1863 and therefore there could be no question of forming a political party before the latter date; secondly, society in Finland was still particularized before the middle of the century and it would have been rather difficult to fashion one or a number of politically unified parties. When politically the formation of parties became possible after 1863, Finnish society was ready: it had formed into two groups based on a linguistic division. Of the four Estates of the Diet, the clergy and the peasants supported the Finnish party, the nobility and the burghers supported the Swedish party. The Swedish party had a majority among the burghers because, according to the existing Diet electoral law, the number of votes in a district depended on the level of taxes paid. In some towns the number of votes was unlimited, while in others it was limited to 25, and in others, to only 10. Thus actually, only the wealthier burghers - to a large extent the mainstay of the Swedish movement - had the franchise. The Finnish party manfully worked for the revision of the scale of votes but the Swedish party, in the majority, opposed reform for forty years until the national strike

of 1905, after which the one chamber Diet was established. General suffrage was introduced in the following year. After this the Finnish element in the Diet and its successor, Parliament -- elected on a proportional basis -- had had an absolute majority. Indeed, out of the 200 members, the Swedish party has had only a maximum of 22 or 23 representatives.[1]

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1. Setälä, ibid, p.17.

B. The Swedo-Finn National Movement: The Swecomen

As has been indicated above, the Fennoman movement at its inception and during its first decades involved only Swedish-speaking upper and middle class individuals. Snellman's work, for example, was carried on exclusively in Swedish: not a single one of his contributions to the Fennoman cause was written in Finnish. Most of the others who wrote and spoke on behalf of the Fennoman cause did not know Finnish well enough to use it freely in their polemics. It could then be said that the social and linguistic antecedents of the Fennomen were largely the same as those of the Swedo-Finns who ultimately rejected Snellman's programme and embraced the later Swecoman nationalist creed.[1]

Primarily because the Fennoman movement in its earlier stages involved mainly Swedish-speaking upper and middle class intellectuals, it was for many years an internal question of the upper classes. Only toward the middle and the latter half of the century did the movement become nationalist in tone - albeit class - nationalist - with the involvement of the lower Finnish-speaking classes. As the movement became deintellectualized and more emotional in content, other Swedish-speaking intellectuals began to pay attention to the particular interests of their own 'class-language' group and even discovered a link, albeit tenuous,

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1. Wuorinen, op.cit., p. 166

with the lower Swedish-speaking classes. In this circuitous way the upper classes discovered a 'nationality' of their own and launched a nationalist movement designed to serve their own ends and needs.

Thus we have in the second half of the 19th century the curious situation where the popularized Fennoman movement is led by Swedish-speaking members of the upper class while yet other members of the same upper class are actively counteracting this movement by creating a popular movement of their own - the Swecoman Movement. It is now that emotional nationalism, drawing on real, fancied and spurious differences in class, race, language and history, is injected into what was previously mainly a language problem.

Many of the essentials for the formulation of Swedo-Finn nationalist creed were furnished by August Sohlman (1824-74) a Swedish journalist, who for 17 years served as the editor of a prominent Stockholm daily, the Aftonbladet. Throughout his life Sohlman espoused both a spirited Swedish nationalism and a wider "Scandinavianism". Scandinavianism was a movement among university students and intellectuals in general which aimed at closer cultural and intellectual relations and even political federation among Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark. Scandinavianist ideas were introduced into Finland by an émigré Finn, resident in Sweden, Emil von Qvantén, who was sympathetic to Snellman's Fennoman ideas, but interested in seeing this worked out through autonomous union of Finland with Scandinavia, rather than Russia.[1]

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1. Qvantén published a pamphlet, Fennomanism and Scandinavianism (tr) in 1850. Myhrman, op. cit. p. 33-41.

And since the Scandinavian movement reached its height in the 1850's when Russia was experiencing difficulties in her European relations, and the possibilities of Russia's losing Finland appeared greater than at any time since annexation, it was only natural that Scandinavianist ideas would be widely circulated and excite a great deal of animation among the educated class in Finland. Cooler heads, however, prevailed and the idea of Finland's separation from the Russian empire quickly faded, but the intellectual content of Scandinavianism left a heritage that was to be exploited to the full and developed into Swedo-Finn nationalism.

Sohlman's views regarding the composition and characteristics of Finland's people formed the nucleus around which Axel Olof Freudenthal (1836-1911) - the father of Swedo-Finn nationalism - built both his theory of nationalism and the nationalist movement. Sohlman introduced the concept of two separate nationalities in Finland, the Finnish and the Swedish. According to him the Swedish-language upper classes were not Finns, though they had lived in Finland for centuries, for they belonged to the Swedish nationality. The Swedish nationality through its upper classes had been the ruling nationality of the country through the ages, and would continue as such. In fact, according to Sohlman, it was only thanks to the Swedish nationality and its upper class that there was a Finland at all, for the Finns proper had shown themselves throughout history devoid of all capacity for subjugating their neighbours. Indeed, no European nation had played as

modest a part in history as the Finns. "Being submissive, exceptionally slow in thought and action, they lack the ability to think clearly and to act energetically and the sense for the practical that enables man to adjust himself to the world about him."[1] It was only as a result of the influence of the Swedish "spirit" and Swedish "culture" that the Finns were led to the path of progress and their basic character changed and improved. Such admired Finnish characteristics as faithfulness, diligence and bravery were the result of long exposure to Swedish "good spirits" and practical common sense. Being members of a race that lacked qualities such as these, the Finns had no culture before being conquered by the Swedes; the culture of 19th century Finland was the end product of the achievements of the Swedes in Finland. Indeed, all the individuals of importance in Finland's cultural life were members of the Swedish nationality.[2]

Sohlman published these and related nationalist notions in a pamphlet in 1855 entitled Det Unga Finland (The Young Finland). A second edition was printed in 1880 and influenced Swedo-Finn nationalist extremists during the following decade. Thus Sohlman's ideas - written from the point of view of a Swedish nationalist who regarded Finland as a sort of Svecia Irredenta, - influenced the Swedo-Finn movement from the 1850s through the 1880s.[3]

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1. Wuorinen, op.cit., p. 168.
2. The discussion of Sohlman's ideas is taken almost verbatim from Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 168.
3. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 169.

And this is the very period during which much of the positive work of the Fennomen in solving the language problem was hindered and frustrated, to a large extent by the encouragement given to those in power by this Swedo-Finn nationalist, or rather anti-Finn movement.

Sohlman's extra-territorial journalistic influence was soon eclipsed by an intellectual movement among university students led by their professors, among whom Axel Olof Freudenthal, Professor of Swedish language and literature, held the pre-eminent position of leader and theorist. Indeed, were it not for the entry of Freudenthal into the mêlée, it is probable that Sohlman's polemics would have had as little effect as von Quanténs' more rational advocacy of Scandinavianism. Freudenthal's great strength lay in his ability skilfully to demonstrate, on the basis of what passed for science in the nineteenth century, that Sohlman's ideas were scientifically correct. In this effort, Freudenthal was helped unwittingly to a very considerable extent by Matthias Alexander Castrén (1813-52), a Finnish philologist who demonstrated "scientifically", in the interests of Fennomanic self-regard of the Kalevalan stamp, the relationship of the Finns to various European and Asiatic races.[1] That these races were backward in development from the point of view of European culture, and that consequently the assertions of Sohlman and Freudenthal with regard

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1. Castrén fathered the Finno-Ugrian race theory which in refined form is accepted today. His original theories were based on philological studies undertaken both in the library and by long and arduous journeys in the Russian northern and Asiatic provinces.

to the backwardness of the Finns were vindicated by so eminent an authority as Castrén, helped put the Freudenthalian notion of Swedish supremacy over to the uncritical romantic age, and furnished "scientific" proof of the correctness of their stand to those resisting change.[1]

Although attempts were made to broaden the base of the movement to include the mass of Swedish-speaking people in Finland, the movement remained largely an upper class and middle class effort until the middle 1890's; the Swedish-speaking common folk played no part in the movement, and except for sporadic student efforts, few attempts to enlist their support were made before that time. The faint beginnings of mass appeal were laid, however, as early as 1866 with the starting of a so-called "Penny Library" in which a series of more than forty pamphlets had a definite nationalistic outlook. Indeed, it is suggested that their main purpose was to counteract the publication of Finnish histories written from the point of view of the Fennomen. The pamphlets were thus an attempt at countering the Fennoman

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1. It is Professor Wuorinen's opinion that were it not for the accidental meeting of minds, so to speak, of Freudenthal and Castrén, the phenomenon of Swedomania and the consequent rise of Swedish national consciousness, would most likely not have developed into the broader Swedo-Finn nationalist movement, but would have buckled under the strong Finlandic nationalism of Snellman, and disappeared as a force after the conclusion of the class struggle. This opinion was given orally in a private meeting in Worcester, Mass.,in July 1965.

bias by instilling a Swecoman prejudice through making the Swedish countryfolk conscious of a glorious historic past in common with other progressive Scandinavian peoples.[1]

Other early attempts to carry the mass of the Swedo-Finn population along with the movement in its struggle to keep the Swedish upper-class position in the face of the Fennoman onslaught involved popular lectures and the establishment of newspapers designed to arouse a feeling of national solidarity by arousing pride in the heritage of Swedo-Finn culture. Students at the University, mostly under the auspices of the Nyland nation, arranged and gave some 150 lectures a year in the early 1880's in the cities as well as rural towns.[2] The students also established a newspaper, Vikingen (the Viking).[3]

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1. Myhrman, op. cit., p. 41-42.

2. Myhrman, op. cit., p. 42 and fn 1.

3. A name chosen for two reasons: 1. it was founded by a group already known as the "Vikings" because of their Scandinavian orientation; 2. by shifting the accent from the first to the second syllable of the Swedish definite form "Vikingen" one gets the imperative form "yield to nobody". Myhrman, p. 43 based on A. Mőrne, Axel Olof Freudenthal och den Finlandssvenska Nationalitetstanken (Helsingfors, 1927), p. 201.

Vikingen was the main carrier of Freudenthalian ideas and expanded the Freudenthalian circle by bringing these ideas to the attention of the entire Swedo-Finn population. Yet another means whereby the students attempted to enlarge their circle of support among the mass of the people was by means of folk festivals. The latter attempts at nationality-wooing came to a climax in the Raseborg-festivals. Raseborg, a ruin of a castle - the only real castle ruin in Nyland - was chosen to represent the Swedo-Finn "glorious" past. Here the Nyland intellectuals met the Swedish country folk and made their stirring appeals for solidarity in the common defense of their Swedish heritage.[1]

A more intellectual movement among the Nyland students, beginning as early as 1858-59 was the movement away from the Scandinavian orientation towards an interest in the systematic study of the geography, history and ethnology of Nyland itself. Committees were appointed to gather materials in such fields as Swedo-Finn folklore and folk dances. The result was a long series of "albums" devoted, principally, to the folklore of Swedish Nyland. Similar albums, were compiled and published by other student organizations as well.[2] Incidentally the publication of "albums" devoted to the folklore, history and other aspects of Swedo-Finn culture, both on a regional as much as a national basis, appears to have become a tradition carried down to the present day. Two of the latest in this

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1. Myhrman, ibid. p. 47, based on Mőrne, op. cit., pp.141-42.

2. Myhrman, ibid, p. 42 based on Mőrne op. cit., pp.139-40; 253-62.

series are for example Det Svenska Finland and Finlands Svenskar, published in 1948 and 1956 respectively.

Nevertheless, despite strong student interest in the common folk the Swedo-Finn movement remained largely an intellectualist activity centered around Freudenthal and the Nyland nation[1] and found active expression in politics in bolstering the intransigence of the majority in the Diet, of the Senate and of the bureaucracy. It thus remained an upper class movement until 1896 when the leadership realized that the Swedish cause could no longer be defended without enlisting the full support of the Swedo-Finn common man.

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1. The student body in Finland has always been divided into "nations", which are organizations of students from a particular province, including both men and women. The "nations" are primary student organizations and all students belong to one. Strong regional loyalties are thus aroused, propagated and preserved, for one remains a member throughout life, taking active part for some years after graduation, and subsequently as a financially supporting "ancien" or "vilister". The "nations" compare in influence with the strong organizational hold on student life of the German "Studenten Korps". The North American fraternity, however, is but a weak reflection of either the "nation" or the "Korps". Note that the Finnish university (and later universities) did not follow the German 'Korps' system as did the Baltic countries and even St. Peterburg but rather the Scandinavian "nation" system. The Nyland nation was the strongest of the Swedish language "nations" and the most active, and has remained so to the present.

The soundness of this conclusion was more than adequately proved ten years later when the new parliament bill and franchise law, promulgated on July 20, 1906, fundamentally changed the national legislature. The introduction of the single-chamber Parliament of 200 members and the extension of the right to vote to all adult women as well as men made it clear that, unless the Swedo-Finn political leaders obtained the support for their cause of the Swedish-speaking farmers, fishermen, labourers and other common folk, they could not expect to reach even the unpretentious representation that a full utilization of their universal strength - at the time, nearly 13 percent of the total population - might ensure.[1]

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1. Wuorinen, op. cit., p. 173; Wuorinen has a brief discussion of the Swedo-Finn movement in the 19th Century, in his History on pp. 166-173; and a slightly longer one in his Nationalism, on pp. 107 - 122. Myhrman discusses the movement in general terms on pp. 32-48 and in political terms on pp. 50-60.

3. LEGISLATIVE AND RELATED DEVELOPMENTS IN THE LANGUAGE FIELD -- 1863 - 1902

Having discussed both the Fennoman and Swecoman movements, let us now consider the legislative developments in the language field.

Between 1809 and 1863 legislation concerning languages was very meagre and haphazard. In 1824 the Senate issued an order demanding that all clergymen wishing to hold a Finnish living had to pass an examination in Finnish. In 1841 it was decreed that Finnish be taught in all schools, but this was not required of the numerous university matriculants who entered after private studies. Two further steps forward were taken in 1850. The Government was ordered to estimate the earliest possible date by which the Finnish peasantry might both address their petitions to government offices and receive the decisions of the courts and government offices in their own tongue. The Government also declared that a professorship in the Finnish language was to be established at the University. At the same time, however, a step backward was taken. In accord with the reactionary spirit of the times, it was ordered that only writings on subjects aiming at

religious edification or at economic usefulness could be published in Finnish.[1]

Significant advances in language legislation began only on August 7, 1863 when Alexander II left a lasting memorial of his visit to Finland by decreeing that, "though the Swedish language will continue to remain the official language of the country, the Finnish language shall have the same right as Swedish in cases directly concerning the Finnish-speaking population of the country, therefore Finnish papers and documents, shall hereafter be received, without resistance by all courts of justice and government offices in Finland". At the same time he ordered that, by 1883 at the latest, that is within twenty years, this principle be followed also in the issuance of documents.[2] Thus, after forty-odd years of mounting struggles on the cultural and polemic levels, the first legislative advance in bringing the Finnish language to its rightful place in the Finnish nation was made at the whim of a Czar.

Despite the Ordinance of 1863 developments within the stipulated period were slow and involved a

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1. Setälä, op.cit., pp. 13-14 (Incidentally, the censorship regulation very soon became a dead letter.)

2. Quote cited in Setälä, op.cit., p. 14.

great deal of foot-dragging on the part of a hostile government and Diet, who were encouraged and aided by the Swecoman movement. Nevertheless advances were made, which, although slow and insufficient from the viewpoint of the Finns, were still such as would have been unthinkable but a scant decade or two earlier. During these twenty years, slowly but surely, the Fennoman movement, which had been gathering momentum under the able leadership of Snellman and Yrjö-Koskinen, became intermixed with the irresistible democratic forces at work throughout society, and bit by bit forced the reactionary bureaucrats to retreat.

Another major step forward was taken in 1865. The decree of February 20 contained far-reaching language regulations. Public servants had to be able to use the Finnish language in the courts and other public offices. From 1872 all University appointees to the chairs of law, theology and pedagogy, and to docentures in law and theology had to be able to understand the Finnish language completely and be able to lecture in it. (Instructors in other faculties were merely required to be able to understand written Finnish.) After 1868 all new appointees to teaching

jobs in schools were to produce certificates attesting their ability to teach in Finnish.

This attempt at the creation of a corps of teachers fluent in Finnish as well as Swedish was, of course, the necessary precondition to the evolution to equality of Finnish with Swedish as languages of learning, and indeed, of national political and social intercourse, as outlined by the decree. Unfortunately, this ambitious plan of equal usage of the two languages, particularly in the field of higher education, even though supported by Snellman and other leading Fennomen, was soon sidetracked by the political forces of Fennomanism and was never put into operation.[1]

Next, it was ordered in the Decree that only Finnish-speaking individuals could be appointed as presidents of lower courts in Finnish-speaking areas; and that from 1872 on no judge who did not declare his willingness to handle cases in Finnish, should

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1. Only one bilingual school existed from 1870-90. In 1890-91 two more were started but failed immediately, while the one bilingual school also disappeared at the end of the 1900-1901 school-year. N. Kallio, Education in Finland, (Helsinki; 1961). Table, p. 31.

the parties to the case so demand, could be appointed to the higher courts in Finnish-speaking court districts. Finally it was decreed that, in all cases of public service appointment, language ability of the candidates should be taken into account to the extent that those who could speak and write Finnish better, ceteris paribus, should have preference in appointment.

To the Decree of 1865 another paragraph was added on December 7, 1868, ordering that in all communes where the majority of the population was Finnish-speaking and where either a Finnish translator appointed by the state was employed, or public servants were required to have Finnish-speaking secretarial help in their written work, all official communal documents should be issued in Finnish, either in the original or in translation.[1]

The two ordinances of 1865 and 1868 were the only language legislation enacted by the Senate prior to the 1880's, and it can be stated with certainty that the main moving force in their enactment was the

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1. Språkfredskommitténs Betänkande (hereafter SB) Helsingfors 1945, pp. 7-8.

successful lobbying of Snellman within the Senate itself.[1] But even Snellman could not perform miracles and it would be decades and numerous supplementary laws later before the theoretically far-reaching laws of 1863, 1865 and 1868 would be implemented. Indeed the opposition in the ruling circles was such that the Swecomen were, as late as the 1880's, able to introduce without apology the spurious argument of the invalidity of the language laws on the grounds that they violated paragraph 3, Chapter 24 of the Law of 1734 regarding the use of 'foreign' languages before the courts. Even later, in 1894, it was held by some members of the House of Nobility that the use of Finnish - except insofar as the speaker himself immediately translated the Finnish into Swedish - was unacceptable and contrary to the rules and traditions of the House. And, despite the advances in language legislation, most holders of minor posts as late as the 1890's still had a very poor knowledge of Finnish. The decree of January 10, 1894, attempted to force implementation of the earlier laws by requiring every candidate for a university post to be able to lecture in Finnish. But even this

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1. Snellman was a Minister in the Senate from 1863 - 1868.

law had a loophole - it did not require anyone to actually lecture in Finnish. In the university consistory and the governing body of the university no speech in Finnish was heard until 1894.[1]

Nevertheless, despite the discouraging picture presented in the preceding paragraph, in the struggle-filled decade of the eighties several important decrees advanced the Finnish language in its quest for equality. The decree of May 9, 1881, which concerned the equalization of the Finnish with the Swedish language, ordered all courts as well as all other public authorities, without further qualification, to give satisfaction in the Finnish language to those who instigated a particular matter of business in that language. The same public bodies were also ordered to deal with communal authorities in the language of the commune. In a revision of the decree of 1881, the decree of December 29, 1883, the principle was instituted that lower courts were to use the language of protocol of the commune in which the court was situated, unless the party concerned desired to use the other language. In the same decree it was also ordered that higher courts were to employ

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1. SB. p. 8.

the language that had been used by the lower courts to hear the case.[1]

By the preceding decrees, then, Finnish-speaking citizens were given the right to have their cases handled in their own language at the lower and middle levels of the courts and public services. The highest levels of the administration and of the judiciary, including the Senate, were still outside the reach of language laws. But not for long. On January 26, 1885, an ordinance, which went into effect at the beginning of 1886, decreed that satisfaction be given in their own language to all Finnish-speaking parties having business with the provincial authorities and the central government (the Department of Economy of the Senate), either in original Finnish or by translation. Through the decree of March 18, 1886, the use of Finnish as an internal language was permitted and in certain cases it even became the obligatory internal administrative language. Through a further decree of April 4, 1887, it was ordered that the language of a commune should be used as the internal

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1. SB. pp. 8-9.

administrative language of the authorities located within that commune.[1]

Thus, by 1887, the legal requirements of Alexander II's decree of 1863 had been fulfilled. Yet the passing of laws was but a formal first step. Three difficulties stood in the way of their actual implementation. First, most of the existing public servants were either Swedish-speaking by birth or had had a Swedish language education. Second, the Finnish language had still not had time to develop the terminology required for the administration of government. The greatest difficulty, however, was the education one. For only as qualified Finnish-speaking candidates became available was there a real possibility of the use of Finnish in the leading institutions of Finnish life: the courts, the Diet, economic institutions, church, school and university.

Characteristically, the dominant institution in the cultural life of the nation, the University, was one of the longest hold-outs in the area of language progress. This was only natural, for though agitation for language change began among students and younger

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1. SB. pp. 8-9.

faculty members in the 1820's, the older, more tradition-minded chair holders were still in control a century later. But legislation, mortality, the development of the school system and changing social conditions finally forced out the "old guard" and brought about drastic changes in the language structure of the University by the early thirties of this century.

In the meantime, both to satisfy the demands of the public service for Finnish-speaking candidates and to satisfy the demands for education among the politically, economically, socially and culturally awakening Finnish-speaking masses, a large number of Finnish-language schools were needed in the period of the promulgation of the language laws, the 1880's. That educational circumstances were far from adequate - and they were indeed primitive - merely intensified the struggle for language rights. For example, of the fourteen state-supported, secondary schools in 1880, only four used the Finnish language. In addition there were eight private Finnish secondary schools, but only three Swedish.[1] The Government's reason for refusing

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1. The Finnish-language secondary schools were all very recent. The first one was founded in Jyväskylä in 1858.

to support further the Finnish-language schools was ostensibly the old saw, raised time after time in the Diet, that the Finnish-speaking element in the nation was composed primarily of peasants who did not need secondary schools for, as a rule, they would rather have their children follow in the footsteps of their fathers than send them on the road to education.

Only after 1882, when Yrjö-Koskinen became a member of the Senate, were attempts made to remedy the situation. Soon, under his able leadership and the prodding of fellow liberals among the Swedish-speaking Senators, drastic changes were instituted. Within short order, all the Finnish-language secondary schools were taken over by the state and some Swedish-language schools situated in wholly Finnish-speaking areas were closed, so that by 1890 there were eleven Finnish-language and only eight Swedish-language secondary schools operated by the state.

The educational changes in the 1880's were instrumental in the rise of a Finnish-speaking educated class. This contention is supported by the figures of secondary school graduates and matriculants: of those graduating in 1880, a mere third were Finnish-speaking

while only ten years later approximately 52% were Finnish-speaking; of students attending in 1880, only 37% were Finnish-speaking whereas, by 1890, 43% were Finnish-speaking and, by 1900, fully 59.3% of secondary school students were Finnish-speaking.

Thus we see that although language usage did not keep pace with the legislative developments in this field, nevertheless, within twenty years of the deadline for complete equality of the two languages set by the decree of 1863, there was in the country a Finnish, educated class which could begin to serve and teach the majority of the nation in its own language. Incidentally, the new educated class was recruited primarily from Finnish-speaking homes, to a large extent from the agrarian population and also from the ranks of the lower public service.

The changes in the composition of the population that were taking place during the last two decades of the century may be counted among the positive underlying forces that significantly helped to bring about the successful implementation of the language laws. For example, in 1880, 85.2% of the total population spoke Finnish, but by 1900, 86.8% was Finnish-speaking.

There was a comparable decline in the Swedish-speaking population from 14.3% to 12.9% in the same period. Of the urban population 57.8% in 1880 and 69.9% in 1900 were Finnish-speaking, compared to a Swedish-speaking population of 37.9% and 28.6% respectively in the two years. The composition of the rural population for the same years was 87.8% and 89.2% respectively for the Finnish-speaking people and 12.1% and 10.5% respectively for the Swedish-speaking. These figures indicate a steady Finnization of the whole population but the trend was strongest in the cities. Of these, Helsinki, the cultural, political, social and economic centre of the nation, perhaps best illustrates the rapidity with which the population structure was changing: in 1880 the majority of its inhabitants were still Swedish-speaking, but by 1900 the positions had been dramatically reversed - 52.9% of the population then spoke Finnish as compared to only 44.6% who spoke Swedish.[1]

The preceding figures serve but to underscore the changes in the social configuration that took place during this period. Of more importance was the drastic

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1. This also shows that there was still a sizeable foreign population in Helsinki, composed mostly of Russians and Germans.

change in the Swedish-Finnish ratio in the upper stratum as a result of higher education. Between 1880 and 1900 there was a complete reversal of the language composition of the educated class: at the earlier date the majority of those having university education were Swedish-speaking, whereas by the latter date the majority had become Finnish-speaking. This can be substantiated by matriculation figures: throughout the last decade of the century the majority of newly matriculated university students were Finnish-speaking; and, during the years around the turn of the century, approximately 57% and 43% of the newly matriculated students were respectively Finnish and Swedish-speaking.

But even though there was already a Finnish-speaking majority in the educated class by 1900, the older generation was still in control of the social, political and economic activity, and it was, to an overwhelming extent, Swedish-speaking. This can be said in particular of the senior officials in control of the Senate, the central public authorities, of the provincial authorities, the higher courts, the university, and so forth. Even the Diet of Estates, the

only one of the leading institutions of the country to have a large proportion of Finnish-speaking members, had two almost completely Swedish-speaking Houses, while a third was Swedish-speaking to a large extent. Only the fourth, the Estate of Peasants, was overwhelmingly Finnish-speaking. It took over thirty years to introduce the Finnish language into all the Houses of the Diet: in the Estate of the Peasants, Finnish was being used in 1863; in the Estate of the Clergy, it was officially used first in 1867; in the Estate of the Burghers, it was introduced in 1885; and in the House of Nobility, it was spoken first in 1894. But these are only the dates of first introduction and do not signify usage, for, in fact, the old Diet of Estates never learned to accept Finnish as equal to Swedish. Furthermore, the legislative struggles of the Finnish language for equality were waged not in its debates, but primarily through public appeals by a few men such as Snellman and Yrjö-Koskinen with the help of Swedish liberals in the closed sessions of the Senate.

The preceding but serves to emphasize that the standing of the Finnish language at the end of the nineteenth century was still not as protected as the

legal guarantees would indicate. Besides, the obvious deficiencies in language command among senior officials, the control of the Senate by the old Swedish-speaking upper class and the unrepresentative Diet which was two-thirds Swedish-speaking, there were serious difficulties even in the operation of the official translation machinery - the simplest and most basic, albeit temporary and second-best, guarantee of language equality. Government bureaus, for example, were required to publish their proceedings in Finnish, but these documents were rarely written in language that was easy to understand. The translators often did a good job but it cannot be said that they always stood at the height of their powers. Generally speaking, the Finnish used in the proceedings and discussions of the Diet was much more lucid and concise than the language used in the government's translated documents. On the other hand, the language used in the Finnish press showed a high degree of cultivation, lucidity and conciseness as early as the 1860's. And, of course, the 1880's represented the first mass - flowering of Finnish-language literature.

As we have indicated earlier, one of the important factors instrumental in extending the usage

of the Finnish language was the reappearance of quasi-representative politics through the reinstitution of the Diet in the 1860's. The fact that the majority of the members of the Estate of Peasants spoke only Finnish required the translation into Finnish of all the motions and reports presented in the Diet by the other Estates. The results at first were unsatisfactory but, as translations were required on a continuing basis, so greater facility in usage was reached in this area, albeit slowly as compared with the great steps forward that the language was making in other areas, such as literature and journalism. The developments in the Diet gradually carried over to the government bureaus, so that by the first decade of the present century translation had reached a satisfactory level of competence. Ironically, though, this was only reached ten years before political events forced the reversal of the translation process, that is, from Finnish into Swedish.

Such then were the developments in language usage officially instigated by the Czar in 1863 and aided by the legislation of the 1880s. By the beginning of this century Finnish language usage had

gathered sufficient momentum and stature that the Swecoman movement had given up all hopes of retarding its progress. Instead a need was felt by both former Fennomen and Swecomen to assure equality of both languages by restating and clarifying the principles of language rights. This was done by means of the Language Act of 1902. Unfortunately the hopes raised by the passing of this important piece of legislation could not be fulfilled immediately for at this time Finland was experiencing the so-called Years of Calamity (Ofårdsåren or Routavuodet) when serious attempts were being made to impose Russian as the third official language. The attention and efforts of the nation and its leaders were, as a result, taken up with a common opposition to these attempts at Russification, and, consequently, the further implementation of the rights of both the indigenous languages suffered from lack of attention. Fortunately for both languages, the attempts at Russification, lasting from 1894 to 1917, proved to be

unsuccessful both in the short-run and long-run,[1] but took up much of the energy of the nation and diverted it from the very necessary task of consolidation, in language as well as in economic, political and social areas, that the nation badly required in the early decades of this century. Russification was, however, not continuously sustained; rather, it was intermittent and cyclical in nature, with periods of intensification recorded in 1894, 1899 - 1904, 1908, 1910 and 1914 - 1917, thus permitting Finns to consider periodically their internal problems.

In the language regulations of 1902 the principle that the language of an administrative district (i.e., the language of protocol of the commune or the language of the majority of the communes within an administrative district) should be the official external

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1. In the short run Russification failed as a result of massive and united resistance on the part of the Finns, e.g., in 1899 a petition of 522,931 signatures, 4/5 of the total adult population, protested the attempt at subverting the fundamental law of the land by placing Finnish legislation under the surveillance of the Russian government. This petition was gathered within three weeks of the Russian proclamation! See Wuorinen, History, op.cit., p. 203. Another example is the refusal of over 50% of conscripts to respond to an illegal conscription law imposed by Russia, which resulted in the abandonment of the law in short order. And so on. See Wuorinen, op.cit., pp. 202-207. In the long run the attempt failed, of course, as a result of the Russian Revolution of 1917, and the Declaration of Independence.

as well as internal administrative language, insofar as the administrative district in question did not include the entire country, was clarified and stated with greater force than hitherto. If an administrative district included an equal number of Finnish and Swedish language communes, or if it included the entire country, then the administrative authority in question had the right to decide, on the basis of either the "nature of the case" (arendets natur or asian luontoon) or "the character of the question" (sakens beskaffenhet or asian laatuun) the language to be used. On the other hand if an administrative district was unilingual the business of the parties concerned could be handled in the other language if they so desired. If an administrative district included the whole country, then the business of those concerned should be handled in their own language, or if those concerned used different languages, then the language was decided upon by the authority handling the matter. In addition, higher courts and higher state authorities were required to use the language originally used by the lower courts and authorities in a particular matter or case. With regard to the internal administrative language, it was further required that in matters concerning a particular communal authority, or a member or servant of this

authority, the language of protocol of the commune in question should be used. Higher authorities were also required to use the language of protocol of the lower authorities in their internal communications with the latter. These were the main language rules enunciated by the language law of 1902; they were not new to be sure, but it was the first time that the previously enacted principles and rules of language duties of state authorities had been collated and clearly stated.

In the area of usage, the law of 1902 made it possible for the first time to demand satisfaction in Finnish from the Senate and its Department of Justice (the Supreme Court). Unfortunately, the law had little further effect on usage for the Russian language had made sufficient progress, particularly after the so-called language manifesto of 1900, to impede the progressive Finnization of the other higher institutions of the land.[1] The most direct pressures of the Russian

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1. In this period the use of Russian was forced on all officialdom, i.e., from the Senate down through the courts to the city and town courts and the civil servants serving these authorities. There was strong resistance which led to the dismissal of hundreds of incumbents of these most important public service posts. Their places were filled either with Russians, or Finns unable or unwilling to resist Russian pressures. Wuorinen, History, p. 205.

language were fortunately ended by the aftermath of the General Strike of November 1905 when, in the general mood of benign liberality, the Russian government rescinded all Russian language legislation concerning Finland. Russification was, however, carried on by other means in later years.

In summation, the progress made during the period under review was confined largely to the area of legislative development - from the general principle enunciated in 1863 by the Czar to the comprehensive language duties of the state enacted in 1902. In the implementation of these laws and regulations, the period from 1863 to the mid 1880s saw almost no progress, but with the developing political pressures, the powers of the increasingly "politicized" Finnish language movement in the 1880s and the help of prominent liberal-minded Swedo-Finns, the educational floodgates were increasingly opened to the Finnish-speaking student, thereby enabling him to compete for teaching and public service appointments on an equal, and perhaps on a legally superior basis, with the Swedo-Finn graduates. Since at the same time the political pressure of the Fennoman

"language" movement persisted and increased, greater use was made of the legally qualified applicants for appointment to jobs governed by the language laws, thus enabling the state partially to fulfil its language duties. But the period under consideration never saw complete fulfilment of these duties because the old power élite - the Swedo-Finn class - remained in power and resisted all inroads on its status. It was forced to retreat, of course, but slowly and unwillingly. Not until the penultimate goal of representative responsible government was reached in 1906 was political redress of language grievances possible. Unfortunately, this coincided with Russification attempts which continued until 1917 and thus it was not until after Independence that all legal barriers to language grievance were swept away. By this time practice had removed most Finnish grievances anyway - for progress in Finnization did not cease between 1906 and 1917 - and had created instead grievances for the formerly powerful group, the Swedo-Finns.

4. ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCES AS FACTORS IN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

As previously indicated, the Finnization movement from the earliest days of the Old Fennoman literary movement grounded itself on the desire to bring about cultural development of the Finnish nation through literary growth and language usage. But the movement did not long remain a purely cultural effort, for as the concept of nationality and the driving force of nationalism became the mainspring of the Finnish movement, the cultural goals were soon eclipsed by the objectives of betterment of the economic, social and political status of the mass of the people of Finland.

Among the ruling classes of Europe, however, the prevailing attitude throughout much of the nineteenth century was on the whole conservative. The upper classes were simply not interested in the aspirations of the masses. But the nineteenth century also saw a developing sense of solidarity among the masses, with a consequent growth in political cohesion that permitted them actively to combine the great forces of size and aspiration and bring their great pressures to bear on the political élite. Concurrently, in the latter half of the century, liberal influences were making inroads among forward-looking members of the conservative power élite. In general the aspirations of the deprived masses were regarded with friendly and even compasionate

interest by the liberals, with the result that the liberals with the backing of the socialist masses were able to bring about by the beginning of the twentieth century sufficient changes in the political atmosphere to permit total enfranchisement of the adult population roughly by the second decade of the century. The political release accompanied and abetted the freeing of the economy of its nineteenth century shackles and permitted it to operate increasingly as a mass consumption economy. These developments in turn brought about a social mobility that raised the overall status of the masses and so radically changed the social configuration that by the middle of the century the economic, social and political standards of the ruling élite of fifty years earlier had become completely inverted everywhere in Europe.

These general European forces were also appearing in Finland during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were aided and abetted by local circumstances that compared with or duplicated the conditions of other European countries. For example, the condition of economic, social and political deprivation of the masses became more and more unacceptable in Finland, as in England, as compared with the promises held out to them by the increase of knowledge and by the widening of the educational field. In Finland, in particular, the very large size of the landless peasantry raised attention to their plight, and in the cities and towns

the rapid increase in the industrial class demanded extensive protective labour legislation. The freeing of the economy during the 1860's from the bonds of mercantilism led to the awakening of entrepreneurial activity among a widening circle of the population, even among those who had previously remained outside the monetary economy. Yet all this contrasted sharply with the political situation, for in the cities the franchise depended on taxes paid, and in the rural areas on the size of the population of the area. The result was that only 6.7% of the population of the cities and 4.3% of the population of rural areas had the vote.

Hence it can readily be deduced that not the language question, but rather the economic and political question presented the most important challenges because they represented the universal grievances of the masses, both Finnish and Swedish-speaking. As a matter of fact, among Swedish-speaking liberals[1] the language question was largely disregarded and the main weight of their attention was given to the political and social problems of the day. Thus the political and social conditions of the deprived classes were brought to the foreground, particularly during the 1860s and 1870s. In 1880 the Swedish liberals who led this activity organized themselves into a party with a definite political programme,

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1. And the liberals were almost all Swedish-speaking, representing a no-man's ground between the Swedish-speaking conservative upper class party and the Finnish-speaking lower class party.

but unfortunately lost control of their creation very soon to the conservative Swedish group interested in maintaining their own superiority by maintaining the status quo.

On the Finnish side of the political arena the leadership attempted to combine the struggle for the rights of the Finnish language with espousal of economic, social and political reforms. That the latter were the more important questions of the day, overshadowing the language question, can be demonstrated by the overwhelming interest in these problems shown by the Finnish members of the Diet, by the Finnish language press and even by the founding of labour unions. It is suggested that this side of the Finnish movement was responsible for a significant number of its supporters and their activities on its behalf[1]. In this context the Language Peace Committee in 1945 points out that the economic, social and political activities of the Finnization movement are often forgotten and attention is paid only to its language programme. However, the Committee suggests that, had the movement been merely a language movement, it would scarcely have gathered as wide and strong support as it did. The development of the language question into a bitter clash most certainly was caused partially by the understanding in large circles that it was primarily a

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1. The Finnization movement as an organizational entity disappeared after 1906 and did not come into being in organizational form again until the 1920's and 1930's.

struggle for the bettering of economic and social circumstances, as well as a struggle over the key to power in society.[1]

With the representative and suffrage changes of 1906, that shifted political responsibility and authority from the élite to the masses, the basis of discussion of the previously enumerated questions was drastically revised. The enfranchisement of all adults (i.e., all over 24 years of age) brought about possibilities, quite independent of language movements, to discuss the bettering of economic, social and political problems independently of language movements. The reforms of 1906 and subsequent developments over a period of a quarter century led to a complete reversal of the economic, social and political position of the Finnish-speaking majority in Finland. In the field of economics the activity of the Finnish-speaking element - which had had its beginning only in the 1880's - showed a remarkable upswing to the point where at the end of the three decades following 1906 the Finns were in almost complete control of the economy. In the area of social activity during the same period a series of revolutionary land reforms took place that substantially raised the economic position of the mass of the rural population; simultaneously the working conditions of the industrial class were bettered by protective legislation that effectively raised both the social and economic status of the

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1. S. B. pp. 12-13

workers. On the national and communal political arena the power that in 1906 had been wrested from the hands of the nineteenth century Swedo-Finn élite was equitably distributed among the power concentration of modern democratic society, while political authority was firmly ensconced in the people.

We may then conclude our examination of the language developments in the nineteenth century with the general observation that, though language itself and the cultural values inherent in it fired the imagination of intellectuals, both Finnish and Swedish-speaking, during the first half of the century, it was the growing restlessness of the Finnish-speaking masses and their hunger for a place in the sun that enabled the intellectuals to realise their dreams of language fulfilment by popularizing the cause of language and persuading the masses that language was the key to their future. But as the century wore on the economic, political and social grievances of the masses intensified and the leaders were compelled to inject both nationalistic fervour and "socialist" aspirations in their "language" programme. And as the movement succeeded, though it was impeded by the upper classes who attempted to whip up their own nationalistic fervour to counter that of the "masses", its very success - in areas such as education and spread of knowledge and social legislation - created other and yet more exhaustive demands, particularly for democratization of political power. When the penultimate political goal of responsible, representative

activity. In particular, many schools threatened by Finnization were able to withstand such pressures thanks to grants from the fund.

But however important these organizational activities were, they were nevertheless merely the effect of nationality consciousness and the framework on which it could further build. The nationality consciousness of the Swedo-Finn élite *qua* Swedo-Finns rather than Swedes or simply Finns can, of course, be traced to the Freudenthalian movement in the 1880's. But the realization of nationality among the mass of Swedo-Finns did not come about until the nationalist attacks of the 'Real Finns' early in the present century. In a symbolic sense the matter was brought to a head by the Swedo-Finn students at the University of Helsinki who wished to clarify the terminology used to describe Swedish-speaking people in Finland. This attempt limited itself only to the Swedish language and did not attempt to invade the Finnish.

It was the suggestion of the students that Swedish-speaking Finns should be referred to as *Finlandssvenskar* (Finnish Swedes) to distinguish them from the Swedish term *finnar* (Finns) which includes

comprehensively all speaking the Finnish language. To find a term that would cover all those living in the territory of Finland the students suggested finländare (Finlanders). That there was a need for some clarification of this kind is indicated by the confusion aroused by the term svenskar (Swedes) used by the Swedo-Finns to describe themselves, and the awkward term svenskfinnar (Swedish-Finns) used by the Swedes to describe Swedo-Finns.

The simple creation of two perfectly good Swedish terms, however, raised the hackles of the aitosuomalaiset, for they insisted that no such creatures as the Swedo-Finns or finlandsvenskar existed. There was merely a foreign Swedish upper class and a large number of Finns who during the hegemony of this class had become denationalized. The job of the aitosuomalaiset was thus to "renationalize" the erring Finns and to crush the alien upper class. The way to bring this about was to remove the alien Swedish tongue from the land. To this end Swedish schools, universities, organizations, names, etc., had to be converted into Finnish-language institutions.

To complicate matters further, not only did the 'Real Finns' firmly believe in the theory of upper-class Swedishness and denationalization, but the concept was widely held by the Finnish-speaking masses. It appears to be still present today,[1] despite the fact that the terms finländare and finlandsvensk have been accepted widely in both Sweden and Finland.

It was the attitude of basic hostility to all that the Swedo-Finns held dear, rather than the overt talk of greater Finnization of the social life in Finland that progressively drew the Swedo-Finns together in common defense. Naturally the onslaught of the aitosuomalainen movement as well as 'natural' Finnization, over time did "renationalize" numbers of Swedo-Finns but the extent of the process was hindered far more than helped by the strong reaction that the Rabies Fennica aroused in the Swedo-Finns. Yet it is only with the "settlement" of the crisis in the post-war period that the process has become significant.

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1. Dahl, op.cit., column 521; B. Colliander, Finländsk: ordet och begräppet (Helsingfors, 1945). More recent documentary material to support this contention is not available. However, interviews and discussions with both Swedo-Finns and Finns indicate that the views of the two earlier documentary sources can be taken as reasonably representative of this attitude in the sixties.

In the meantime developments connected with independence and the confused international situation existing during the last year of World War I had a positive impact on the Swedo-Finn nationality and language aspirations. In this respect the Ålanders' demands for annexation with Sweden (1918-1921) served the cause of the mainland Swedo-Finns in two ways: firstly, by forcefully bringing to the attention of the mainland Swedo-Finns the concept of cultural autonomy and self-government; and secondly by forcing the Government and Parliament to handle the question of language laws carefully.

The former was of course the result of reaction among mainland Swedo-Finns, who opposed the annexation movement among the Ålanders because they considered themselves Finnish nationals and not an irredentist Swedish minority. As Finnish nationals or finlÄndare, they vigorously opposed any infringement of Finnish territory. The self-government and cultural autonomy concepts were developed largely to keep the Ålanders in Finland and at the same time to fortify further the position of the Swedo-Finnish language and culture.

The latter -- the improvement in the language laws -- was the Finnish reaction to the popular Åland appeal and to the formal application of the Swedish government to the League of Nations. The Finns feared that if the mainland Swedo-Finns could not be satisfied at home then they too might appeal to the League of Nations and bring the weight of that international body to bear on internal Finnish matters, infringing Finnish sovereignty.[1] in the process.

Against this background, the Swedo-Finns' nationality consciousness reached its climax with the convening of the national convention, the Svenska Finlands Folkting (Swedish Finland's Peoples Assembly). The purpose of this convention of

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1. This was a very real fear, for, in the Åland case, not only Sweden, but Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union -- all considerable powers -- were actively interested and concerned in the islands. That the main interest of the latter three powers was based on the strategic position of the islands, and not primarily on the humanitarian grounds of self-determination, was beside the point. Involvement is involvement: the basis and grounds do not matter. Also, it must not be forgotten that Wilson's concept of self-determination of nationalities filled the air between 1918 and the early twenties, and all three powers paid formal obeisance to the idea.

representatives elected by over 110,000 adult Swedo-Finns from all over Finland, was to formulate the wishes of the whole Swedish nationality for such a degree of cultural autonomy and administrative self-government as the general conditions would make possible. There was at this time more restlessness and agitation among the whole Swedish population than there had been at any previous period. Among the several factors contributing to this were: the Finnish-Swedish popular front break resulting from the Red Guard - White Army struggle during the War of Independence (more properly, Civil War); the ridicule to which valiant Swedo-Finns in the White Army had been subjected because they did not understand Finnish; the Åland agitation of international proportions; the renewed, but as yet unorganized aitosuomalainen, anti-Swedish attacks; the contagious Wilsonian idea of self-determination sweeping Europe at this time; and the political independence of Finland and the consequent possibility of political self-expression at the very least.

But the convening of the Folkting was not the first organizational expression of Swedo-Finn nationalism; it was the culmination. It had been preceded

during 1918 by "spontaneous" provincial conventions of Swedo-Finns in Ostro-bothnia, Nyland, and Åboland, in addition to constant assemblies conventioneering in Åland. At all of these the demand for at least limited self-government for the Swedish provinces was formulated and presented to the government, accompanied by demands for the formation of special Swedish army units and even hints about complete separation such as the Ålanders were demanding. It is only because the Government and Parliament handled these demands and questions in such an uncertain[1] manner that the Swedo-Finns decided to call the national convention. Matters came to a head on February 11, 1919, when the Finnish majority in Parliament voted down *in toto* the proposition presented by the Government for the regulation of the use and the status of the two languages in the administration.

Immediately following this, the Swedo-Finn Members of Parliament called the *Folkting*, which met in Helsinki on May 19, 1919, and formulated the following

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1. Both Government and Parliament were more concerned with Finland's external position and with victory, internal order and economic stability than with the Swedo-Finn crisis, which was insignificant in comparison.

programme.[1]

1. That the Swedish language be acknowledged as a national language on an equal footing with Finnish in legislation, the courts, education, the Church and the army.

2. Cultural self-determination in religion and education with separate Swedish dioceses and a separate department of education.

3. Swedish army units, serving in times of peace in Swedish areas.

4. The formation of unilingual administrative districts, such as communes, parishes, judicial districts, etc.

5. "Self administration" by the Swedish districts in the three provinces of Ostro-Bothnia, Nyland and Åboland, through formation of these areas into provinces.

6. The organization of the Swedish provinces into an autonomous unit called Svenskfinland (Swedish Finland).

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1. Myhrdal, op. cit., p. 149; see detailed discussion in G. von Bonsdorff Självstyrelsetanken I Finlandssvensk Politik Åren 1917-1923, (Helsingfors, 1950), pp. 144-189.

7. The enactment of a fundamental "magna carta" covering all preceding language and nationality questions -- a law which could not be changed by the Government.

8. A permanent Folkting for the whole Swedish nationality with a representative-at-large in the Cabinet.

During the next three years, the Folkting, rather than the Swedish representation in Parliament, was the authoritative mouthpiece of the Swedish nationality. The prestige of the Folkting, through judicious leadership and the fact that it was supported by almost all Swedo-Finns in Finland gave it such prestige and authority that the Government was forced to take a conciliatory attitude towards the Swedish demands. This attitude on the part of the Government was, of course, further prompted by their anxious desire to settle the Åland question with as little foreign interference as possible, and other Swedo-Finn nationality questions with no outside interference at all.

The direct activity of the Folkting led initially to the acceptance in principle of points 1, 2, 3, and 4 of its programme in the Constitution Act of

July 17, 1919.[1] In the long run the pressure of the Folkting, the external influences mentioned above, and the good-will toward the Swedo-Finns that existed among many leading Finnish politicians, such as Svinhufvud --- himself of Swedo-Finn stock, but a renationalized Finn -- led to the enactment of a linguistic "magna carta" that implemented the principles written into the constitution, and almost completely satisfied the programme of the Folkting. Only points 5, 6 and 8 were not implemented.

But despite the seeming acceptance of the majority of the Folkting's programme, the Government and Parliament refused to accept the basic concept of a Swedo-Finn nationality. All that the language laws recognize is the right of Swedo-Finns to use the Swedish language primarily on a territorial basis. The personality principle of language usage is confined to such residual cases as criminal procedure in the courts and the right to approach state authorities in one's own language. In the language laws there is no reference to culture, nor to nationality, nor even to the Swedish as

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1. Articles 14, 22, 50, and 75. Cf. Chapter on Constitution in this study.

a group. The one reference that could be interpreted as applying to one of these concepts is confined to one short sentence in the Constitution Act.[1]

> The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish and Swedish population in accordance with identical principles. (2)

The precise meaning of this provision, however, has not been determined to date.[3]

Although the Folkting was unable to convince the Government and Parliament of the basic Swedo-Finn nationality concept and the concomitant setting up of an autonomous Svenskfinland, the gains achieved so satisfied Swedo-Finns that further agitation soon subsided and even the Folkting went out of existence, not to be revised until 1942 when the Karelian refugee resettlement programme seriously threatened the status of many Swedo-Finn areas as officially bilingual under the language laws.

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1. The term used the original Finnish text is sivistyk sellisiä, the primary meaning of which denotes "culture". The "official" English translation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Constitution, however, uses the word "intellectual".

2. Constitution Act, Article 14, paragraph 2.

3. Cf. Chapter on Constitution.

After the positive achievements of the early twenties, the overt struggle of the Swedo-Finns in the main confined itself to "routine" opposition to the attacks of the aitosumolainen movement and to the defence of the legal improvements they had gained, largely by supporting the Swedish People's Party and Swedish institutions such as Åbo Academy, the schools and Swedish voluntary organizations. Indeed, it can be suggested that had there been no 'Real Finn' movement during the inter-war years, the Swedo-Finns, complacent about the legal position of their language, might have become victims of the "natural" Finnization that has proceeded in Finland since the Fennomen first raised the banner in the third quarter of the last century. But the hatred raised and kept alive by the 'Real Finns' helped to keep the Swedo-Finns on the defensive and alert at least to their linguistic needs, if not to their nationalist needs.

Finally, in contrast to the 'Real Finn' "nationalist" movement, the Swedo-Finn movement in the twentieth century, even during the days of climax, was at best a "nationality" movement designed to protect the

"nationality" from external attack. But for the most part it was merely a language preservation movement, designed primarily to preserve and safeguard rather than to propagate. The 'Real Finns' had a truly nationalist vision; the Swedo-Finns having no vision of their own merely reacted defensively to this.

3. NATIONAL CONSOLIDATION

A. The War

The language quarrel between the nationalist Finns and the language conscious Swedo-Finns found its main battleground from the middle twenties on in the University of Helsinki language issue. When an interim settlement on this issue was reached in 1937, the quarrel began to subside. But it was not until the external political and military attack from the Soviet Union took place in 1939 that both parties to the quarrel quickly became true brothers-at-arms in patriotic defence of the common fatherland.

The new-found co-operation was forced only by necessity at first, but soon the necessary close co-operation brought about a change in the psychological

attitudes of both Finnish and Swedish Finns, as they both realized that they were first and foremost unhyphenated Finns and wanted to remain so against all odds. Thus the language and nationalist quarrels of the preceding decades began to take on an aura of unreality and were soon forgotten, as thousands of Swedish-speaking Finns and Finnish-speaking Finns fought shoulder to shoulder and lived in close confinement, depending on one another for military security, comfort and companionship throughout two wars, the one short and sharp (1939-1940) and the other drawn out and wearying, against two enemies (1941-1944); first the Russians and then the Germans.

An important factor in this war-time reconciliation was perhaps the fact that more Swedo-Finns had learned Finnish than had been the case during any previous period of co-operation, and thus were able to communicate with the Finns in their own tongue. A second factor was perhaps the changed perspective of the majority of the Finns when, for the first time in their lives, they discovered in conversation and comradeship-in-arms that the Swedo-Finns were little different from themselves in

thought, way of life and aspirations. Contrary to the ideas that the aitosuomalaiset had spread about the Swedo-Finns, they found that the Swedo-Finns were Finns like themselves but preferred to speak another language -- Swedish.

Yet another factor in the reconciliation were the volunteers from Sweden who came to help the Finns in their anti-Russian struggle. At once the Swedes discovered that the Finnish Finns were not the ogres that they had been made out to be in Sweden, and this helped to dampen the Swedish anti-Finnish propaganda and latent irredentism that had been helping to irritate the Finnish-Finns in their anti-Swedo-Finn struggle. Similarly, the Finnish Finns discovered that the Swedishness of the Swedes differed markedly from the Swedishness of the Swedo-Finns, and more important, that neither threatened Finnish supremacy or the legitimate desire of further Finnization in Finland.

These "discoveries" and attitudinal changes first took place in the trenches and army camps, but since the wars conscripted all men in Finland between the late teens and the early sixties, these changes were decisive and were soon felt throughout Finland.

Of course the changes were not of uniform depth everywhere in Finland, but were nevertheless so extensive that, by the end of the war, of the fifty or sixty pre-war Members of Parliament with 'Real Finn' views only five or six remained. In its 1945 report, the Language Peace Committee was able to declare that to all intents and purposes the quarrel was ended; that the attitudinal changes accounted primarily for the disappearance of the quarrel; and that only a few legal arrangements, notably concerning the University of Helsinki, remained to be corrected in order to remove the last remaining points of contention.

But despite the effect of the war, the quarrel could easily have been revived as a result of the threat to the integrity of Swedish Finland posed by the loss of Karelia to Russia in 1940 and the resulting re-settlement of 485,000 Karelians. What made the threat real was the fact that most of these refugees were farmers from the most productive agricultural region of pre-war Finland. The government and Parliament regarded it as a national duty to resettle these in areas as closely comparable to their lost homes as possible. This, however, meant resettlement in the already intensively populated

and cultivated south and south-west, both of which regions also had the highest concentrations of Swedo-Finns (apart from Åland.)

According to the resettlement arrangements worked out by the Government, it was intended that the 40,000 lost farms be recreated mainly by a partial land reform. Permissible sizes of existing farms were redefined; excess acreage was bought up; and land in uneconomic use was sequestrated by the government. New farms were also to be created out of uncleared arable land in the centre and the north.[1] Since the central and northern settlement was of minor importance, the weight of reallocation and resettlement had to be borne by the south and southwest. Originally the government proposed a programme of resettlement that fixed quotas of land to be reallocated or sequestered in rural communes on the basis of amount of land under cultivation, average size of farms and population density. The strong and active opposition to this, however, on the part of the Swedo-Finns through

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1. The centre and north, however, were of secondary and marginal importance because few Karelians wished to settle there, the majority choosing the more comparable and temperate climate and agricultural and social conditions of the south and south-west.

the reactivation of the Folkting in 1942 permitted Swedo-Finn areas a lower degree of refugee settlement. The remainder of the quota was to be made up through a cash-purchase by the Swedo-Finn farmers of land in other non-Swedish communes, which was to be made available for resettlement purposes. Even so, the Karelian immigration to all the Swedish regions was sufficient to create large Finnish-speaking minorities, and this led to conflicts, particularly over schools and place names.[1]

The largely satisfactory solution of the Karelian refugee problem can be credited to a far-seeing government and the alert pressure of the Swedo-Finns through their Folkting. Both must also receive much of the credit for substantially maintaining the spirit of co-operation that was forged during the war years.

B) The Post-War Perio Consolidation

The War taught both Finns and Swedo-Finns the arts of tolerance and co-operation in the interests of national survival, although this was not a new process

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1. For a detailed discussion of the resettlement problem see A. de Gadolin, The Solution of the Karelian Refugee Problem in Finland (The Hague, 1952)

but rather a re-learning of the lessons learnt during the Years of Calamity and the Russification attempts preceding Independence. Yet previously, once external pressures had lessened or disappeared, the internal squabbles arose again with renewed vehemence. The end of the Second World War, however, did not bring about a revival of the old nationalist hostilities. Instead, more tolerance and further co-operation between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns became the order of the day.

The reasons for this change in the pattern of relations are not hard to find, if we remember that the Finland of the post-War forties was a defeated nation with a crushed economy that did not even begin to revive until the middle fifties. But this was not all, for Finland, for the first time in her semi-independent and independent life of almost 150 years, had come closer to total foreign domination than ever before, and, although the overt military threat abated with the end of the war, the external political and economic threats grew stronger rather than weaker. Viewed against this background of political and economic insecurity, the language aspirations

of the Swedo-Finns seemed unimportant to the majority of the Finns and, to some degree, even to the Swedo-Finns themselves.

But the external political and economic threats were not the only disquieting factors that kept a premium on national solidarity and co-operation. The threat of internal political chaos and subversion was posed early in the post-War period with the electoral success of the Finnish Communist Party[1] (the SKDL -- a party composed of various radical socialist organizations, either wholly communist orientated or highly sympathetic to communist ideology and aspirations). That the party garnered 23.5% of the popular vote, almost as much as the Social Democrats with their 25.1%, and more than the Agrarians with their 21.3%, in itself meant but that the communists were a political force to be considered again for the first time since the late 1920's[2], and that they were a more potent force than ever before, for in their ascendancy in the twenties the greatest support that they had obtained was limited to 14.8% of the popular vote in

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1. The SKDL (Suomen Kansan Demokraattinen Liitto) gained 25% of the votes at the general election in 1945. Their success at the polls has continued at the same rate since: 1948, 20%; 1951, 21.6%; 1954, 21.6%; 1958, 23.2%; and 1962, 20.5%.

2. The Communist party was outlawed in 1929.

1922. What, however, made the strong re-emergence of the party important was the private moral support given it by the Kremlin.[1] This support, plus the fact that the party had the second largest number of seats in Parliament, eventually forced the other parties to permit the SKDL to form an all-party coalition government in .. which the SKDL had a plurality of seats and the most important ministries.

The nature of the threat to internal security that this arrangement presented was first made public in 1947 when the Minister of the Interior, who in Finland is in charge of internal security, in a burst of patriotic feeling voluntarily confessed to the President that a few hours later he was due to take charge of a communist plot to arrest the President and all non-communist ministers, to seize the government, and to call on the great neighbour to the east to help establish a workers' state.

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1. The support was not all moral, nor all private. What really forced the co-operation of the other parties in a communist-dominated coalition cabinet was the overt threat of inclusion of further economic and perhaps even territorial sanctions in the pending Peace Treaty with the Soviet Union.

The other parties have never forgotten the treachery of the SKDL. They dissassociated the party from governmental coalitions when external conditions so permitted in 1948, and have never since even considered forming a coalition with the party despite its consistent second or third place showing in general elections. The elimination of the SKDL from power, however, has not abated the class struggle in Finland. All it has done is to remove the danger of treachery from the councils of state. The popularity of the SKDL in general and communal elections demonstrates the solidarity of the communists and their sympathizers, and the ever-present reality of the "class struggle". Perhaps nowhere in the western world is there such awareness, as there is in Finland, of the differences between the "haves" and the "have-nots", on a historical basis, stretching back through the suppression of communism in the thirties to the Civil War between the Red Guards and the White Guards. This awareness, particularly among the communists and sympathizers, makes the economic struggle of primary importance in the political arena. Again, language problems can hardly compete with issues such as incomes and social security.

Three factors did help to prevent growth of ill-will or dissatisfaction among the Swedo-Finns: the Folkting, the policies of Presidents Tyti and Paasikivi, and Finnization.

The Folkting was resurrected in 1941 with the immediate purpose of preventing the swamping of Swedo-Finn districts of settlement by Karelian refugees. That the support for the Folkting[1] was solid helped enormously in bringing the importance of the issue before the Government. But what really permitted an equitable settlement, the first since 1922 that satisfied both Swedo-Finns and Finnish-speaking Finns, was the intervention of President Ryti who set out specifically to avert any further crisis in the country. He had, to be sure, good material to work with in the cabinet, for the Swedish People's Party had been represented by two to three members continuously in the coalition cabinets since the beginning of the war.

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1. The support for the Folkting was even greater in the 1941 elections than it had been in the 1919 elections: 148,000 Swedo-Finns voted as compared to only 110,000 in 1919.

The continuing necessity of insuring that somehow the Karelian crisis or other effects of the war did not infringe upon Swedo-Finn rights.kept the Folkting in session and saw it re-elected in 1944.. But by staying in session and by being re-elected, both the Swedo-Finns and the members of the Folkting became so accustomed to having a continuous, watch-dog organization that, when the war ended and the Swedo-Finns saw a possibility of realizing the good-will that had grown during the war, they chose to keep the Folkting to represent their united interests in such matters of immediate interest as the University of Helsinki, the Swedish units in the Army, and language disticting.

But here again the fact that President Paasikivi (1946-1956) understood the necessity for satisfying the Swedo-Finns played a major rôle, for without his intervention and cajoling the University of Helsinki question would not have been resolved with as much speed and goodwill as it was.[1] With the settling of this question in 1947, the major pre-war theme in Finnish Swedo-Finn relations was removed. Yet the Swedo-

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1. See chapter on Education, Part IV

Finns did not dismiss their watch-dog, the Folkting. Indeed, it appears that it is largely thanks to its continued activity (electionshave been held in 1946, 1949, 1952, 1955, 1958, 1961 and 1964) that the Swedo-Finns still exhibit as much cohesion and language solidarity as they do, for the post-war Finnization of Finnish society has affected the Swedo-Finns deeply, both constructively as far as organizational unity is concerned, but also destructively in the area of social life.

Moreover, Finnization has been helpful in the handling of the crisis of the 1940's, the Åland self-government problem, settled in 1952, and the liberalization of language districting carried out in 1962, for all these settlements, but particularly the last, were largely influenced by the realization among Finnish-speakers that Finnization is almost complete in Finland and that the Swedishness that remains is so insignificant as to pose no threat to the majority. Thus the majority can be magnanimous toward the minority, and even encourage it so as to preserve Finland's closest link with Scandinavia, -- the Swedish language -- in a viable state both for the political purpose of strengthening neutrality

and for the cultural purpose of a western orientation. In both objectives the Finns are, of course, more selfish than magnanimous, but how often is altruism divorced from self-interest, particularly in political matters?

4. ATTITUDES TODAY

As has been indicated above educated Finnish-speakers in the main accept the Swedo-Finns as part of Finland's state and society, although this acceptance is coloured by a curious lack of enthusiasm one way or the other, it being almost as if the Finns knew that whatever the Swedo-Finns think or desire they are doomed as a group. This "educated class" attitude is of course balanced by the attitude of non-opinion among the vast majority of Finnish-speaking Finns who seldom come in contact with Swedo-Finns, that may take the form of a more or less enthusiastic repetition of the supposed sins of Swedo-Finns that the aitosuomalaisuus of the thirties preached, the degree of enthusiasm depending on the age of the respondent and the part of the country in which he lives. The less contact there is between the two groups, the more sinful and grasping

the Swedo-Finns appear in the eyes of the Finns.

The Swedo-Finns also fall into two attitude groups, the one cautiously or tacitly accepting assimilatory Finnization, and the other cautiously yet strongly opposing it. The former group to a large extent consists of university students and young professionals who have to spend their social and professional lives in the Finnish language. The second group consists largely of the older generation who regard with suspicion and hearty dislike any attempt by "young people" to leave their Swedo-Finn enclaves to migrate to cities and towns in search of the "good life". The older generation is also guilty of attributing all that is bad and divisive in the nationalist struggles to the Finns, forgetting completely that among their own group they have been propagating a "distinctive Swedo-Finnishness" built on a "firm" foundation of Swedo-Finn folklore, literature and peasant architecture. In their eyes it was the Swedo-Finns who gave the Finnish nation its first breath of life, its first realization of literature, even the recognition of its existence. To some extent all these views are true, for after all Snellman -- a Swedo-Finn --

brought to life the Fennoman movement, Elias Lönnrot -- a Swedo-Finn -- gathered and published the Kalevala, and Runeberg -- a Swedo-Finn -- created the Finnish national anthem, in Swedish. But the Swedo-Finn glorifiers forget that all these men were imbued with a patriotic Finnish feeling. They further forget that this Finnish cultural ethos quickly took control of Finnish society and that today it rules Finland.

These, then, are the attitudes prevailing in Finland today. To predict the future course of developments is a risky affair in any case, but to predict the outcome of the Swedo-Finns' attempt to remain a viable group[1] in Finland is even more so, for the indicators point in many different directions. For example, the strong organizational life of the group centered in the Folkting indicates strength and a will to live, yet the decrease in proportionate terms of the Swedo-Finn group, through lower birth-rates, intermarriage and Finnization for career reasons, and the consequent ever-decreasing size of the Swedo-Finn language

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1. The term nationality is avoided since the Finns do not recognize any ascription of Swedo-Finn nationality and the Swedo-Finns themselves are quite divided on this point, the older generation taking a positive view, the younger a questioning, though not necessarily a negative view.

regions, indicate a slow attrition of all that is Swedish in Finland. However, it is safe to say that as long as the Folkting continues its existence and receives the support of most of those identifying themselves as Swedo-Finns, so long will there be a viable Swedo-Finn entity characterized and distinguished from the Finnish Finns by at least the desire to speak Swedish. At the same time there is little doubt that as industrialization makes greater inroads in Finland and further depletes the countryside, so will most Swedo-Finns learn to speak and live mostly in Finnish. Whether they will also keep Swedish as a home language is further complicated by the ever increasing importance of English in the commercial, industrial and academic life of Europe. For if English becomes as important in Finland as it is in present-day Sweden, then the second-language -- Swedish -- will undoubtedly suffer extensively.

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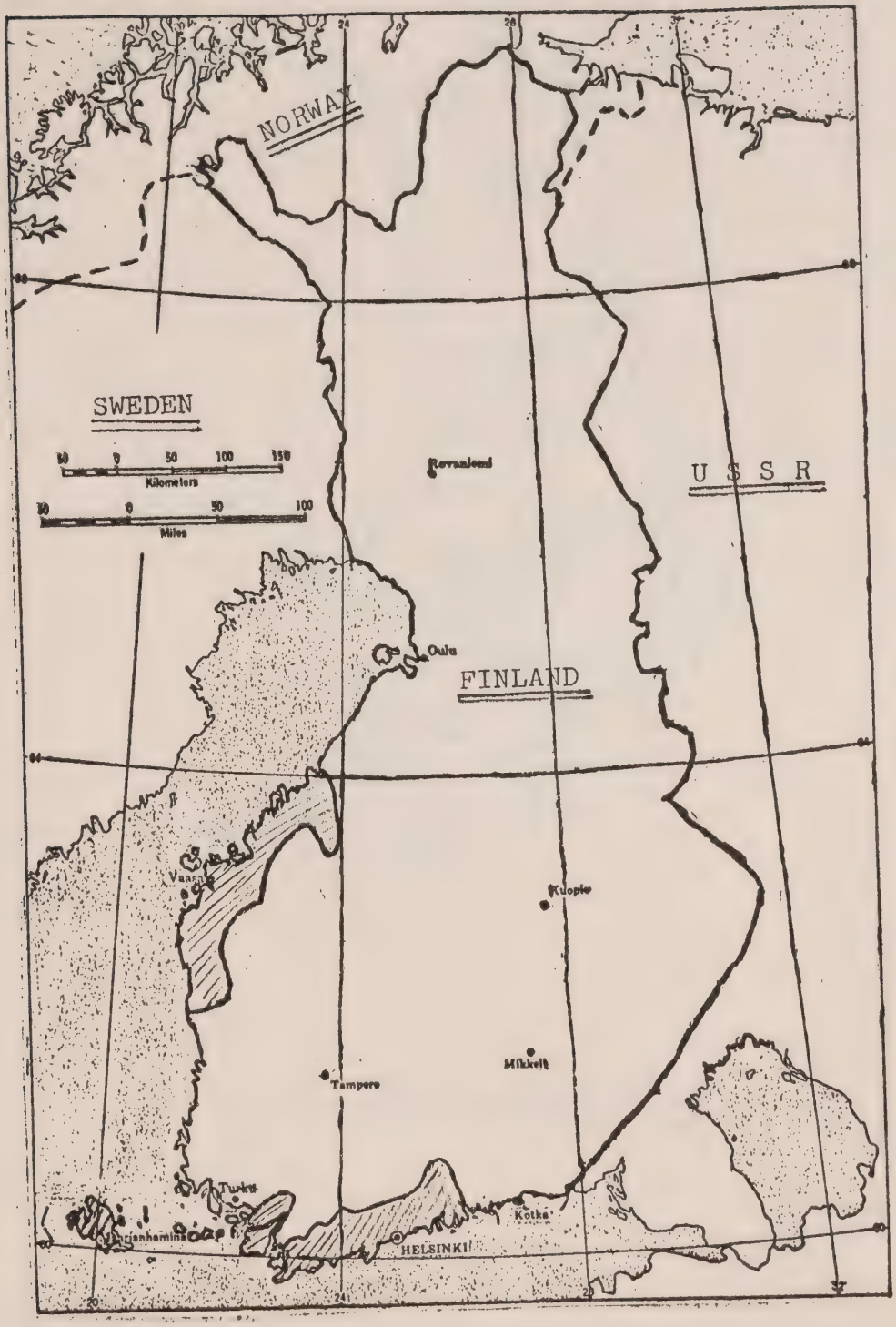
A SURVEY OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS OF FINLAND

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FINLAND

Swedish-speaking areas-- ▨

MAP I



Map II-- Finland's Provinces, 1960

1. INTRODUCTION

Finland is a small country with a population of less than 4.5 million persons in 1960 and an area of 305,396 sq. km. (about 118,000 sq.mi.) It is bounded on the east by the USSR and shares northern borders with Norway and Sweden. The west coast faces on the Gulf of Bothnia and the southern border is the Gulf of Finland. (See Map I) The country has a low density of population of about 37.7 per square mile and is mainly a producer of agricultural and other primary products, including wood and wood pulp. Its climate is not unlike that of Canada.

2. LANGUAGE GROUPS

The Finnish population is composed of two main language groups -- the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking -- who together in 1960 made up more than 99 per cent of the population. The Finnish-speakers are the majority group accounting for 92.4 per cent of the population while the Swedish group accounts for 7.4 per cent. (See Table I) The extremely small remainder consists largely of Lapp and Russian speakers.

The Finnish-speaking group has dominated the country numerically for many centuries, but until late in the 19th century Finnish was considered the language of the

Table I

Finland - Population by language groups, 1880-1960

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963. p. 44)

Year	Total	Finnish	Swedish
1880	2,060,782	1,756,381	294,876
%	(100.0)	(85.23)	(14.31)
1890	2,380,140	2,048,545	322,604
%	(100.0)	(86.07)	(13.56)
1900	2,712,562	2,352,990	349,733
%	(100.0)	(86.75)	(12.89)
1910	2,921,197	2,571,145	338,961
%	(100.0)	(88.02)	(11.60)
1920	3,105,103	2,754,228	340,963
%	(100.0)	(88.70)	(10.98)
1930	3,380,748	3,022,257	342,916
%	(100.0)	(89.40)	(10.14)
1940	3,695,617	3,327,534	353,985
%	(100.0)	(90.04)	(9.58)
1950	4,029,803	3,670,918	348,286
%	(100.0)	(91.10)	(8.64)
1960	4,446,222	4,108,269	330,538
%	(100.0)	(92.40)	(7.43)

lower classes and Swedish the language of the élite. As shown in Table I the numerical domination of the Finnish-speakers has been increasing steadily, at least since 1880. At the same time their language has become the principal language of both industry and society. Since 1940 the Swedish-speakers have lost ground not only proportionately but in absolute numbers as well, and their population has begun to diminish slowly.

The different rates of growth of the two groups can be illustrated roughly from the following figures -- by 1960 the Finnish group had increased to 233.9 per cent of its 1880 population, while the comparable increase for the Swedish group was to only 112.1 per cent. This difference can be partially explained by higher emigration rates and a lower birth-rates for the Swedish-speaking group. These will be examined later.

a) Provincial Distribution

The population of the two language groups is not spread evenly over Finland's 12 provinces, rather the Swedish speakers are concentrated in four provinces - Åland, Uusimaa, Vaasa and Turku-Pori - on the southern and eastern seabord.

(See Map I). Despite this concentration the Swedish-speakers form less than one-fourth of the population in three of these provinces. The fourth province, the Åland Islands,* is almost entirely a Swedish preserve. However, it is the smallest of the provinces, with a population of only 20,981, the next smallest having almost 10 times its population. (See Table II) Åland's Swedish speaking population has had its language guaranteed directly by the Finnish Constitution and indirectly by international treaty under the auspices of the League of Nations.

Though the data are spotty, it will be more useful now to examine the distribution of official languages spoken in Finland, with particular reference to bilingualism.

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* With the exception of Åland, which because of its Swedish population, will be called by its Swedish name in this study, all the other provinces will be called by their Finnish names. The following list gives the provinces by their official Finnish names followed by the equivalent official Swedish name. Ahvenamaa or Åland; Häme or Tavastehus; Turku-Pori or Åbo-Björneborg; Uusimaa or Nyland; Vaasa or Vasa; Mikkeli or St Michel; Oulu or Uleåborg; Kuopio (no equivalent); Kymi or Kymmene; Lappi or Lappland; Pohjois Karjala or Norra-Karelen; and Keski-Suomi or Mellersta-Finland.

Table II

Finland - Population in 1960 by language and province

(Source: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; pp. 6 and 45)

Province	Total	Finnish	Swedish
Whole Country	4,446,222	4,108,269	330,538
%	(100.0)	(92.4)	(7.4)
Uusimaa	832,936	665,874	163,050
%	(100.0)	(79.9)	(19.6)
Turku-Pori	660,269	626,447	33,275
%	(100.0)	(94.9)	(5.0)
Åland	20,981	715	20,257
%	(100.0)	(3.4)	(96.5)
Häme	580,765	577,306	2,677
%	(100.0)	(99.4)	(0.5)
Kymi	337,772	334,129	3,390
%	(100.0)	(98.9)	(1.0)
Mikkeli	234,629	234,346	183
%	(100.0)	(99.9)	(0.1)
Pohjois-Karjala	207,742	207,644	81
%	(100.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)
Kuopio	270,504	269,976	445
	(100.0)	(99.8)	(0.2)
Keski-Suomi	245,014	244,578	328
%	(100.0)	(99.8)	(0.1)
Vaasa	443,505	337,249	106,167
%	(100.0)	(76.0)	(23.9)
Oulu	406,992	406,508	421
%	(100.0)	(99.9)	(0.1)
Lappi	205,113	203,497	264
%	(100.0)	(99.2)	(0.1)

b) Official Languages Spoken

Data on official languages spoken in Finland are available only in the 1950 census. (See Table III) At that time eleven per cent of the population listed itself as bilingual, 84 per cent spoke Finnish only and 4.7 per cent Swedish only. The largest bilingual group, 226,932, more than half of all bilinguals, were residents of the province of Uusimaa, site of the capital, Helsinki. They made up 34 per cent of the province's population. Other provinces with a relatively large proportion of the bilingual population were Åland and Vaasa. All three provinces had relatively large Swedish-speaking populations.

The majority of bilinguals, 64.1 per cent, have Finnish as their mother tongue, although in Uusimaa 55 per cent of bilinguals have Finnish as mother tongue and 45 per cent Swedish. In the country as a whole 7.7 per cent of the Finnish-speaking are bilingual and 45.8 per cent of the Swedish-speaking.

The bilinguals tended to be concentrated in city areas with 68.5 per cent residing in urban communes. (See Table IV) The percentages were slightly higher for Finnish bilinguals with 70.5 per cent living in urban communes compared to 65.1 per cent of the Swedish.

Table III

Finland: Bilingualism 1950

(Source: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1961; pp. 6 and 34)

Languages Spoken

	Total	Finnish only	Swedish only	Bilingual	
				Finnish MT	Swedish MT
Total	4,029,803	3,386,788	188,889	284,130	159,397
%	100.0	84.0	4.7	7.1	4.0
Percentages Urban-Rural					
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	1,302,427	947,718	44,601	200,227	103,714
%	32.3	28.0	23.6	70.5	65.1
Rural	2,727,376	2,439,070	144,288	83,903	55,683
%	67.7	72.0	76.4	29.5	34.9

A different approach to bilingualism is given if one examines areas in which the two languages exist side by side. (Finnish law decrees that a commune is bilingual if 10 per cent or more of its population or at least 5,000 speak the other national language than the majority. Certain urban areas have also been declared bilingual on the basis of large

minority language concentrations. Stability in marginal communes is obtained by requiring that the minority group fall to eight per cent before a bilingual commune becomes legally unilingual and rise to 12 per cent before a unilingual commune becomes bilingual.)

In 1963 the great majority of communes, more than 80 per cent, were unilingual Finnish while of the remainder about half were unilingual Swedish and half bilingual. (See Table IV)

Table IV

Communes by language - 1963

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; p. 46)

	Total	Finnish	Swedish	Bilingual
	548	457	44	47
%	100.0	83.4	8.0	8.6

Both Finnish and Swedish unilingual communes are primarily rural. For Finnish communes 406 to 457 or 88.8 per cent were rural communes and for Swedish 42 of 44 or 95.5 per cent were rural. Bilingual communes, though also primarily rural (as is to be expected because of the rural character of the country) show more strength in the urban

areas with 15 of the 47 bilingual communes, or 31.9 per cent, urban. Finnish unilingual communes occur in every province but Åland, bilingual communes are found in the provinces of Uusimaa, Turku-Pori, Kymi and Vaasa while Swedish unilingual communes are found in Uusimaa, Turku-Pori, Åland and Vaasa.

Thus Åland is unilingual Swedish; Uusimaa, Turku-Pori, Vaasa and Kymi have either bilingual communes or both Finnish and Swedish unilingual communes. The other seven provinces are unilingual Finnish.

It must not, however, be assumed that the different language groups are evenly distributed among the bilingual provinces. A short examination of the four bilingual provinces will show significantly different combinations of unilingualism and bilingualism. (See Table V)

The largest group of bilinguals is in Uusimaa, home of 43.9 per cent of Finnish bilinguals and 64.1 per cent of Swedish bilinguals. The province is also the home of 35 per cent of all Swedish unilinguals, who are outnumbered by the Swedish bilinguals.

The Swedish unilinguals and bilinguals in Turku-Pori are about in the same relationship as those in Uusimaa, but in Vaasa the unilinguals outnumber the bilinguals more than 3 to 1. The situation is reversed in Kymi where

Table V

Languages spoken in Bilingual Provinces and Åland in 1950

(Source: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1961; pp. 6 and 34)

	Total	Finnish only	Swedish only	Bilingual Finnish MT	Bilingual Swedish MT
Whole Country	4,029,803	3,386,788	188,889	284,130	159,397
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Uusimaa	667,459	369,222	66,152	124,721	102,211
%	16.6	10.9	35.0	43.9	64.1
Turku-Pori	631,049	551,973	16,562	41,537	20,182
%	15.7	16.3	8.8	14.6	12.7
Vaasa	607,204	464,715	86,519	29,460	26,234
%	15.1	13.7	45.8	10.4	16.5
Kymi	311,364	290,083	332	17,083	3,525
%	7.7	8.6	0.2	6.0	2.2
Åland	21,690	188	18,719	582	2,160
%	0.5	--	9.9	0.2	1.4

Swedish bilinguals outnumber unilinguals by about 10 to 1. In these four provinces Finnish bilinguals outnumber the Swedish bilinguals.

In Åland, not unexpectedly, Swedish unilinguals outnumber bilinguals about 9 to 1. Despite Åland being almost entirely Swedish it had only 6.0 per cent of the total Swedish-speaking population in 1950.

3. IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION

Immigration has not played a significant role in population growth in Finland but emigration has been at least partially responsible for the decline of the Swedish-speaking group.

In 1960 the population of Finland born abroad was 31,934, or only 0.7 per cent of the total population. Since 1880 it has ranged between 0.6 per cent and 1.2 per cent. (See Table XI below, p. 225) But between 1950 and 1960 total emigration was 54,052, for an average of about 5,400 a year, the largest average per year for a ten-year period since 1931, compared to an average population growth of 41,642 a year, and equivalent to about 13 per cent of the population growth. However, 18,498 of the 1951/60 emigrants migrated to Sweden, and were probably Swedish-speaking. They formed

the largest group migrating to any one country, surpassing the drop of 17,748 in Finland's Swedish population during the same period. Total emigration from Finland to Sweden between 1931 and 1960 was 36,469 compared to total emigration from Finland for the period of 85,225, -- that is emigration to Sweden made up 42.8 per cent of all emigration during the period. From 1931 to 1960 the Swedish-speaking population in Finland showed a net decline of 12,378.

4. BIRTH RATES

Though emigration has been partially responsible for the decline in the Swedish population, in the birthrates we find another major reason for the decline of Swedish-speakers.

The post-war birthrates of 1945-50 were abnormally high for Finland, whose birthrate has been falling since 1880 and falling rapidly since 1910. (See Table VI) For 1931-40 it was 19.7 per thousand inhabitants, roughly half of what it was 50 years earlier. Birthrates for 1866-70 were 31.8 per 1000 mean population, rose to 37.0 for 1871-80 and fell relatively steadily to 18.1 in 1962.

Table VI

Live Births and Deaths per 1,000 Mean Population, 1866-1962

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; pp. 58-59)

	Live Births	Deaths
1866-70	31.8	38.6
1871-80	37.0	22.2
1881-90	35.0	21.1
1891-1900	32.6	19.9
1901-10	32.4	18.7
1911-20	27.0	18.9
1921-30	23.6	14.9
1931-40	19.7	14.0
1941-50	24.3	13.6
1951-60	20.7	9.3
1961	18.4	9.1
1962	18.1	9.5

Åland has the lowest birthrate of any of the provinces, with 14.1 per 1,000 mean population in 1962, followed by Turku-Pori with 16.3. (See Table VII)

Table VII

Finland - Birth & Death rates per 1,000 mean population - 1962.

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963: p. 60)

Province	Birthrate	Death rate
Uusimaa	17.4	9.6
Turku-Pori	16.3	10.0
Aland	14.1	10.9
Häme	16.6	9.9
Kymi	16.6	10.0
Mikkeli	17.0	10.8
Pohjois Karjala	18.5	9.3
Kuopio	18.7	9.7
Keski-Suomi	18.7	9.1
Vaasa	17.6	9.6
Oulu	22.4	8.3
Lappi	25.1	6.9
Whole Country	18.1	9.5

It has proved impossible to obtain accurate birth and death rates for the different ethnic groups since World War II. Fougstedt * estimated that the 1936-40 Swedish-speaking birthrate was 15.3 per thousand compared to 19.8 per thousand for the whole country and that the Swedish-speaking rate for 1941-45 was 17.9 per thousand compared to 20.9 for the whole country. Indications are that the Swedish birthrate is still considerably below the national average, but it has not been possible to calculate it accurately from existing data.

The low birthrate of the Swedish-speaking is reflected in the age distribution of the two populations. The Swedish-speaking population is more heavily concentrated in the older groups while the Finnish-speaking group has a larger concentration in the younger groups. (See Table VIII) Barring some unexpected change this will continue to provide a slower increase among the Swedish group. Emigration among the younger portion of the Swedish-speaking group has undoubtedly made the differences between the two groups larger than the differential birth-rates discussed above would have alone.

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* Fougstedt, Gunnar, Finlands svenska befolkning aren 1936-1945, (Helsinki: Finska vetenskaps-societen, H. 95, no. 2, 1951)

Table VIII

Age distribution by language group - 1960

(Source: Compiled from the Census of Finland - 1960)

Age	Total population	%	Swedish	%	Total-population minus Swedish *	%
Total	4,446,222	100.0	330,538	100.0	4,115,684	100.0
0-4	408,223	9.2	21,417	6.5	386,806	9.4
5-9	439,029	9.9	24,019	7.3	415,010	10.1
10-14	491,739	11.1	30,338	9.2	461,401	11.2
15-19	372,106	8.4	26,345	8.0	345,761	8.4
20-24	312,372	7.0	20,139	6.1	292,233	7.1
25-34	597,346	13.4	37,831	11.4	559,515	13.6
35-44	550,025	12.4	43,613	13.2	506,412	12.3
45-54	543,262	12.2	47,873	14.5	495,389	12.0
55-64	400,646	9.0	40,035	12.1	360,611	8.8
65 plus	327,511	7.4	38,606	11.7	288,905	7.0
Unknown	3,963	0.1	322	0.1	3,641	0.1

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* The total-population less the Swedish-speaking population has been used to approximate the Finnish-speaking population. Non-Finnish speakers in this group total 7,415 or only 0.2 per cent of the group.

Table VIII a.

Percentage share of total age group by language groups - 1960

(Source: Calculated from Table VIII)

Age	Total Population %	Swedish %	Total Population minus Swedish %
Total	100.0	7.4	92.6
0-4	100.0	5.2	94.8
5-9	100.0	5.5	94.5
10-14	100.0	6.2	93.8
15-19	100.0	7.1	92.9
20-24	100.0	6.4	93.6
25-34	100.0	6.3	93.7
35-44	100.0	7.9	92.1
45-54	100.0	8.8	91.2
55-64	100.0	10.0	90.0
65 plus	100.0	11.8	88.2
Unknown	100.0	8.1	91.9

5. URBANIZATION AND MOBILITY

Despite a trend towards urbanization in the last 80 years, Finland is still primarily a rural country. By 1960 only 38.4 per cent of the population lived in urban areas. (See Table IX)

Table IX

Finland - Urban and Rural by language groups 1880-1960

(Source: Compiled from Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; pp. 6 and 44.)

Year	Total	%	Urban	%	Rural	%
			Whole Country			
1880	2,060,782	100.0	173,401	8.4	1,887,381	91.6
1920	3,105,103	100.0	493,112	15.9	2,611,991	84.1
1960	4,446,222	100.0	1,707,049	38.4	2,739,173	61.6
			Finnish-Speaking			
1880	1,756,381	100.0	100,300	5.7	1,656,081	94.3
1920	2,754,228	100.0	373,413	13.6	2,380,815	86.4
1960	4,108,269	100.0	1,553,151	37.8	2,555,118	62.2
			Swedish-Speaking			
1880	294,876	100.0	65,725	22.3	229,151	77.7
1920	340,963	100.0	114,049	33.4	226,914	66.6
1960	330,538	100.0	148,873	45.0	181,665	55.0

Table X

Finland - Language groups, Percentages Urban and Rural - 1880-1960

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; p. 44)

	Whole Country		Urban		Rural	
Year	Finnish	Swedish	Finnish	Swedish	Finnish	Swedish
1880	85.23	14.31	57.8	37.9	87.8	12.1
1920	88.70	10.98	75.7	23.1	91.2	8.7
1960	92.40	7.43	91.0	8.7	93.3	6.6

As shown by Table IX the Swedish-speaking have tended to be more urban than the Finnish-speaking although the relative distribution within the two groups has been decreasing rapidly. Despite this higher preference for urban living in the Swedish-speaking group it has been outnumbered by the Finnish-speaking in the cities, at least since 1880*.(See Tables IX and X).

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* Karl Deutsch in Nationalism and Social Communication, second ed. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1962, p. 181) estimates that prior to 1810 the Swedish-speaking outnumbered the Finnish-speaking in urban areas and estimates that in 1749, of a total population of 421,000 the total Finnish population of 350,000 was rural while 50,000 Swedes were rural and 21,000 urban.

Thus the Swedo-Finns are still overrepresented in urban areas, as shown in Table X, but much less than they were formerly.

The urbanization is taking place among the young adults as would be expected. It is worth noting that in 1962 the 20 to 55 age group accounted for 42 per cent of the population of the rural communes and 48.8 per cent of the urban areas.

As is to be expected the population is becoming more mobile. (See Table XI) In 1880 nearly 85 per cent of the population lived in the commune in which they were born. By 1960 the figure had fallen to slightly more than 50 per cent.

Table XI

Finland: Percentage Distribution by Birthplace and Residence 1880-1960

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland - 1963: p. 53)

Year	Birthplace				
	Commune of residence	Other commune same province	Other province in Finland	Abroad	Unknown
1880	84.6	11.0	3.7	0.6	0.1
1940	62.1	21.3	15.3	1.1	0.2
1950	54.2	20.9	23.7	0.9	0.3
1960	52.3	20.7	25.9	0.7	0.4

Likewise in 1880 only about four per cent lived in a different province from where they were born while in 1960 the figure was slightly over 25 per cent.

As is to be expected Uusimaa (site of Helsinki) has the largest proportion of its population born in other provinces -- 43.4 per cent.

a) Helsinki

The change in ethnic structure of the urban areas is well demonstrated by changes in the capital city, Helsinki. The earliest accurate data is from 1870 and shows Helsinki with a 57 per cent Swedish-speaking population. This percentage decreased rapidly to 1960 when it was 14.4 per cent. (See Table XII)

Table XII

Helsinki - Population by language spoken (1870-1960)

(Source: 1960 Census and Martin Klövekorn,
Die Sprachliche Struktur Finnlands, 1880-1950)

Year	Total	%	Finnish	%	Swedish	%	Other	%
1870	32,113	100.0	8,303	25.9	18,323	57.0	5,487	17.1
1880	43,142	100.0	14,672	34.0	22,549	52.3	5,921	13.7
1890	65,535	100.0	29,787	45.5	29,860	45.6	5,888	9.0
1900	93,217	100.0	47,280	50.7	39,539	42.4	6,398	6.9
1910	136,497	100.0	80,792	59.2	47,907	35.1	7,798	5.7
1920	160,921	100.0	103,205	64.1	53,727	33.4	3,989	2.5
1930	219,842	100.0	152,510	69.4	62,579	28.5	4,753	2.2
1946	341,598	100.0	(268,293)	(78.6)	(73,305)	(21.4)	--	--
1950	369,380	100.0	294,311	79.6	71,029	19.2	4,040	1.1
1960	452,777	100.0	384,206	84.9	65,338	14.4	3,233	0.7

An examination of official languages spoken in Helsinki also demonstrates the change through time. (See Table XIII)

Table XIII

Helsinki - Official languages spoken 1930-1950

(Source: Martin Klövekorn, Die Sprachliche Struktur Finnlands, 1880-1950)

Year	Total	Finnish Only	Swedish Only	Bilingual M.T. Finnish	Bilingual M.T. Swedish	Other
1930	219,842	98,942	11,458	53,568	51,121	4,753
%	100.0	45.0	5.2	24.4	23.3	2.2
1950	369,380	197,643	12,195	96,668	58,834	4,040
%	100.0	53.5	3.3	26.2	15.9	1.1

Helsinki became somewhat more Finnish unilingual between 1930 and 1950. If one examines the bilinguals as a percentage of the total group one finds little change in the percentage of bilinguals. In 1930, of the Finnish, 35.1 per cent were bilingual while fully 81.7 per cent of the Swedes were. For 1950 the comparative figures are Finnish-speakers, 32.8 per cent bilingual, Swedish-speakers 82.8 per cent.

In both periods more than four-fifths of the minority group Swedish speakers have been bilingual in Helsinki while only about one-third of the majority Finnish-speaking group have been.

6. RELIGION

There is no significant religious difference between the two main linguistic groups. The Lutheran church is uniformly strong through the country, including the Swedish-speaking province of Åland. In 1962 the Lutheran Church claimed adherence of 92.4 per cent of the total population with 5.4 per cent on the civil register, leaving only 2.2 per cent to be distributed among the rest of the religious groups.

7. EDUCATION

The 1960 census showed a relatively even standard of education through the country, with the exception of Uusimaa which not unexpectedly showed an above average level of education. In Uusimaa 13.3 per cent of the population over 15 claimed a middle school education, 9.3 per cent education at the matriculation level and 4.1 per cent at the university level. National averages were middle school education 7.6 per cent; matriculation examination 4.2 per cent and university education 1.7 per cent. The Uusimaa figures pulled the national level up considerably, for the 11 other provinces vary between 4.7 and 7.4 per cent for middle school education; 2.1 and 3.5 per cent for matriculation examination and 0.7 and 1.3 for university education. The Swedish-speaking province of Åland is among the higher-rated

groups with 6.8 per cent middle school education; 2.7 per cent matriculation examination and 1.3 per cent, university education.

Urban communes show a much higher educational level than rural communes. In urban communes 8.9 per cent of the total population have middle school education; 5.5 per cent matriculation examination and 2.4 per cent university education as opposed to 3.0 per cent middle education, 1.3 per cent matriculation examination and 0.4 per cent university education for the rural areas.

The younger age groups also show higher levels of education than their elders. (See Table XIV)

Table XIV

Education by Age Levels (Per cent) 1960

(Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; p. 43)

Age	Total	Middle School	Matriculation
0-14	100.0%	0.1%	———
15-24	100.0%	13.2%	4.6%
25-44	100.0%	7.5%	5.5%
45-64	100.0%	5.0%	3.0%
65	100.0%	3.4%	2.2%
Unknown	100.0%	2.0%	1.1%
Total	100.0%	5.3%	2.9%

Figures on secondary school attendance for 1960/61 * show 91.7 per cent of the students Finnish and 8.3 per cent Swedish. Thus Swedish representation is 0.9 per cent above their proportion of the population as a whole and would be even higher than their proportion of the 10-20 age group.

8. ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

a) Industrial Structure

Finland has rapidly become less and less of a rural country, but by 1960 agriculture, forestry and fishing still provided jobs for 35.5 per cent of the country's economically active population, though its share fell significantly from 46 per cent in 1950. (See Tables XV and XVa) It is still the largest area of employment for both language groups, though in 1960 only 28.4 per cent of the Swedish-speaking were employed in this area, compared to 36 per cent of the Finnish-speaking. * *

The next largest sector was industry employing 21.9 per cent of the population, 22.2 per cent of the Swedish-speaking and 21.8 per cent of the Finnish-speaking. Both commerce and

* Finland Statistical Yearbook, 1963.

* * In this section Finnish-speaking refers to the total population minus the Swedish-speaking population. (See Table VIII, footnote).

transport and communication employed a larger percentage of the Swedish-speaking labor force than Finnish-speaking.

From Tables XV and XVa we can conclude that the Swedish-speaking tend to be more concentrated in the more urban-oriented sectors, but they do not dominate them.

Table XV

Relative distribution of economically active population by industry.

(Source: Compiled from Census of Finland 1950 and 1960)

	Total	Swedish	Finnish
	1950		
Total	1,984,282	177,369	1,806,913
Agriculture, forestry,fish	911,989	66,624	845,365
Industry	416,727	38,420	378,307
Mining	6,002	1,001	5,001
Manufacturing	410,725	37,419	373,306
Construction	122,727	7,545	115,182
Elec.,gas.,etc.	10,395	1,093	9,302
Commerce	160,357	21,550	138,807
Transp. & Comm.	106,785	15,582	91,203
Services	226,949	23,301	203,648
Industry unknown	28,353	3,254	25,099
	1960		
Total	2,033,268	153,999	1,879,269
Agriculture, forestry,fish	720,617	43,730	677,087
Industry	444,516	34,132	410,384
Mining	6,513	567	5,946
Manufacturing	438,003	33,565	404,438
Construction	176,157	8,867	167,290
Elec.,gas.,etc.	18,861	1,361	17,500
Commerce	236,381	25,744	210,637
Transp. & Comm.	128,844	14,615	114,229
Services	301,463	24,550	276,913
Industry unknown	6,229	1,000	5,229

Table XVa

Percentage distribution of economically active population by industry.
(Source: Census of Finland, 1950 and 1960)

	Total	Swedish	Finnish
	1950		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry,fish	46.0	37.6	46.8
Industry	21.0	21.7	20.9
Mining	0.3	0.6	0.3
Manufacturing	20.7	21.1	20.7
Construction	6.2	4.3	6.4
Elec.,gas.,etc.	0.5	0.6	0.5
Commerce	8.1	12.1	7.7
Transp. & Comm.	5.4	8.8	5.0
Services	11.4	13.1	11.3
Industry unknown	1.4	1.8	1.4
	1960		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry,fish	35.5	28.4	36.0
Industry	21.9	22.2	21.8
Mining	0.3	0.4	0.3
Manufacturing	21.5	21.8	21.5
Construction	8.7	5.8	8.9
Elec.,gas.,etc.	0.9	0.9	0.9
Commerce	11.6	16.7	11.2
Transp. & Comm.	6.3	9.5	6.1
Services	14.8	15.9	14.7
Industry unknown	0.3	0.6	0.3

Table XVa

	Total	Swedish	Finnish
	1950		
Total	100.0	8.9	91.1
Agriculture, forestry,fish	100.0	7.3	92.7
Industry	100.0	9.2	90.8
Mining	100.0	16.7	83.3
Manufacturing	100.0	9.1	90.9
Construction	100.0	6.1	93.9
Elec.,gas.,etc.	100.0	10.5	89.5
Commerce	100.0	13.4	86.6
Transp. & Comm.	100.0	14.6	85.4
Services	100.0	10.3	89.7
Industry unknown	100.0	11.5	88.5
	1960		
Total	100.0	7.6	92.4
Agriculture, forestry,fish	100.0	6.1	93.9
Industry	100.0	7.7	92.3
Mining	100.0	8.7	91.3
Manufacturing	100.0	7.7	92.3
Construction	100.0	5.0	95.0
Elec.,gas.,etc.	100.0	7.2	92.8
Commerce	100.0	10.9	89.1
Transp. & Comm.	100.0	11.3	88.7
Services	100.0	8.1	91.9
Industry unknown	100.0	16.1	83.9

b) Industrial Status

The "employers" and "managers" classes are relatively small in Finland, containing together about 3.6 per cent of the economically active population in 1950 and 3.9 per cent in 1960. (See Tables XVI and XVIa)

As would be expected, the Finnish-speaking dominate both the "employers" and "managers" classes, but the Swedish-speaking groups are represented by a far larger proportion than would be expected. In 1950 only 8.9 per cent of the economically active population was Swedish-speaking and by 1960 it had declined to 7.6 per cent. But in 1960 the Swedish-speaking accounted for 9.0 per cent of the "employers" group and 21.1 per cent of the "managers" group. In 1960 the proportion of Swedish-speaking "employers" fell to 8.8 per cent, a less than proportional decrease, while the proportion of "managers" actually rose slightly to 21.9 per cent. In fact the Swedish-speaking are over-represented at the management level in all types of industry. This represents, however, only a small percentage of the total population. In 1950 only 0.6 per cent of the total population were "managers", though the proportion for Swedish-speakers was 1.4 per cent. The comparative figures for 1960 are 0.8 per cent and 2.4 per cent. The Swedish-speaking are also generally over-represented in the "own-account workers" and "administrative and clerical workers" categories.

On the other hand the Swedish-speakers are underrepresented in the "workers" category. In 1950 only 7.2 per cent of the "workers" category were Swedish-speaking and in 1960 only 5.9 per cent. "Workers" made up 43.3 per cent of the total economically active population but only 33.7 per cent of the Swedish-speaking economically active pouplation in 1960.

The concentration is particularly high in a few industries. Thus in 1960 in the electrical industry 25 per cent (2 out of 8) "employers" were Swedish, 23.2 (1,386 out of 5,970) per cent of "managers" in industry, 22.6 (1,770 out of 7,846) per cent of "managers" in commerce, and 31.2 (221 out of 708) per cent of "managers" in transport and communications. Swedish representation was particularly low in agricultural "workers" being only 2.8 (3,862 out of 137,765) per cent and construction "workers", 4.5 (6,525 out of 146,452) per cent.

Thus, in general, the Swedish-speaking population tends to be slightly more concentrated at the upper levels than the Finnish-speaking group, but not sufficiently to dominate the upper economic classes nor to make the Swedish a closed or exclusive élite group.

Table XVI

Population of Finland by Industrial Status, 1950 and 1960

(Source: Compiled from Census of Finland 1950 and 1960)

	Total	Swedish	Other
	1950		
Total	1,984,282	177,369	1,806,913
Employers	60,278	5,398	54,880
Own Account workers	340,569	32,886	307,683
Managers	11,529	2,427	9,102
Administrative and clerical	307,013	43,649	263,364
Workers	834,169	60,404	773,765
Family Workers	430,724	32,605	398,119
	1960		
Total	2,033,268	153,999	1,879,269
Employers	64,040	5,631	58,409
Own Account Workers	331,101	28,169	302,932
Managers	17,063	3,738	13,325
Administrative and clerical	437,804	47,861	389,943
Workers	880,910	51,940	828,970
Family Workers	302,350	16,660	285,690

Table XVIa

Population of Finland by Industrial Status 1950 and 1960 Percentages

(Sources: Compiled from Census of Finland, 1950 and 1960)

	Total	Swedish	Other
1950			
Total	100.0	8.9	91.1
Employers	100.0	9.0	91.0
Own Account Workers	100.0	9.7	90.3
Managers	100.0	21.1	78.9
Administrative and clerical	100.0	14.2	85.8
Workers	100.0	7.2	92.8
Family	100.0	7.6	92.4
1960			
Total	100.0	7.6	92.4
Employers	100.0	8.8	91.2
Own Account Workers	100.0	8.5	91.5
Managers	100.0	21.9	78.1
Administrative and clerical	100.0	10.9	89.1
Workers	100.0	5.9	94.1
Family Workers	100.0	5.5	94.5

Table XVIa

	Total	Swedish	Others
	1950		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	3.0	3.0	3.0
Own Account Workers	17.2	18.5	17.0
Managers	0.6	1.4	0.5
Administrative and clerical	15.5	24.6	14.6
Workers	42.0	34.1	42.8
Family Workers	21.7	18.4	22.0
	1960		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	3.1	3.7	3.1
Own Account Workers	16.3	18.3	16.1
Managers	0.8	2.4	0.7
Administrative and clerical	21.5	31.1	20.7
Workers	43.3	33.7	44.1
Family Workers	14.9	10.8	15.2

9. CONCLUSIONS

Swedish-speakers in Finland have a more than proportional share of management and other top-level jobs and also tend to be concentrated in the more skilled types of employment. Their level of education may be slightly higher.

However, because they are such a small minority, even where they are overrepresented by two or three times their expected number, they are still greatly outnumbered by the Finnish-speaking. Thus while they may be somewhat better off as a group, they are no means the élite.

For the future, with their lower birthrates and emigration, it is likely the Swedish-speaking group in Finland will continue to decline, not only as a percentage of the total population, but in absolute numbers as well.

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Toivo Miljan
January, 1966

PUBLIC SERVICE

PART ONE - THE ARMED FORCES

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ARMED FORCES

1. Function of the Forces

Finland's geographic position, historical development, international treaties and foreign policy determine the function of her armed forces. Geographically Finland lies between the Soviet Union on the east and neutral Sweden on the west; historically she has served as both buffer and battleground between Russia and Sweden while firmly allied ideologically, if not always politically, to the latter; on the basis of treaties with the Soviet Union, largely dictated by the latter, she has been narrowly limited in her foreign and military policy; and, through the continued application of a carefully considered foreign policy she has been able to maintain her historic ideological alignment with the West. To this end not only a dictated neutrality but an actively pursued concept of neutrality in all its phases - legal, political, economic and, of course, military - has had to be carefully applied. In specific terms this means that the Armed Forces must, to a more significant extent than the armed forces of an allied state such as Canada, be prepared independently to prevent military encroachment by its neighbours. This means that Finland must have a small and highly integrated defence force, capable of swift mobilization and of offering costly resistance to any potential aggressor.

2. Organization of the Force.

The size of the Armed Forces was fixed by the 1947 Peace Treaty of Paris to a maximum strength of 34,000 for the Army, including anti-aircraft and frontier guard units: 4,500 for the Navy with a total ship tonnage of 10,000 tons; and 3,000 men and 60 aircraft for the Air Force. Additional restrictions exclude production and use of bomber aircraft, submarines, atomic weapons and certain other specified weapons.

The present organization of the Forces dates only from 1952 when the emasculated prewar structure was redefined on the basis of the requirements of the 1947 treaty, political reality and the advanced technology of warfare. In the previous year the military man-power question had similarly been dealt with and the period of compulsory military service reduced to a minimum effective training period of 240 days with the exception of reserve officers, non-commissioned officers, and specialized personnel, who were to serve 330 days. The final touches to the reorganization were laid in 1957 when all units were named after the country district with which they were historically associated.

Command Structure. The President of the Republic is the Supreme Commander of the Defence Forces. The National Defence Council under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister and composed of cabinet ministers, top ranking generals in the Chairman of the Economic Defence Planning Committee, works in close cooperation in policy matters with the President, upon

whom ultimately falls the responsibility for military matters. The administrative leadership of the Forces falls to the Ministry of Defence.

The military leadership rests with the Commander-in-Chief who is directly subordinated to the President and to whom the President may delegate his powers as Supreme Commander in time of war. The Commander-in-Chief controls and directs the Armed Forces through the General Headquarters of the Forces which is composed of the Chief of General Staff, Chief of Operations, the Inspectors of the different service branches, the Chief of Logistics, the Chief of War Economics, and the Chiefs of the various sections of the service such as the Training Section, Organization Section, the Cooperative Section, etc. General Headquarters also functions as the Army Staff.

The Armed Forces are divided into the following units:

The Army

- 1st Division (Oulu)
- 2nd " (Turku)
- 3rd " (Kouvola)
- The Armoured Brigade
- The Independent units

The Navy

The Air Force

The Territorial Organization

The Military Schools

The Special Institutions

The Depots

The Military Hospitals

The character of divisional organization has changed greatly from World War II and now includes all branches of the Army in accordance with the principle of three-dimensional territorial defence. A peace-time division consists of two brigades of two rifle battalions each, one to three jeager (light infantry) battalions, one artillery regiment and the requisite number - depending on divisional location - of artillery and anti-aircraft units. It is suggested that this new organizational integration has served to mitigate inter-service rivalry and ensured intimate co-operation even under peace-time conditions.

At present the Army is divided into four divisions consisting of six brigades, eight jaeger battalions, three artillery regiments, two coast artillery regiments, three coast artillery battalions, one regiment and four battalions of anti-aircraft artillery, plus the independent units such as the Guard Battalion in Helsinki, the Motor Transport Battalion, the Engineers' Regiment, the Signals' Regiment, and certain other special units.

The Navy has its Headquarters in Helsinki, and has two naval bases at Turku and Obbnäs and a Naval Squadron based at Turku. The Navy consists of small ships such as motor gunboats, fast patrol boats, mine layers, mine sweepers and

assault landing craft. Its capital ships include one British built and two Russian built frigates. The Navy's function is purely defensive, to guard the coastal approaches to the mainland.

The Air Force - also with Headquarters in Helsinki - consist of three wings, the Military School of Aviation, one Air Signal Battalion and one Air Force Depot. For training the Air Force uses Swedish Saab Safir and French Fouga Magister planes, and, for tactical support of the Army, British Folland Gnat and Russian Mig 21 fighters. The air surveillance radar net, which completely covers Finland's air space, consists of Finnish and British built radar stations.

Territorial Organization. Finland is divided territorially into seven military areas and twenty-seven military districts which keep files on conscripts, handle all matters concerning mobilization and take charge of the exercises necessary for certain categories of reservists.

Non-Commissioned Officers. Each independent unit such as a brigade, a jaeger battalion, artillery regiment, etc., has its own school for non-commissioned officers. These are trained within the 240 day period of compulsory military service.

Reserve Officers. The training of reserve officers takes place during the 330 day period of compulsory military service at the Reserve Officers School at Hamina, or at the Naval Academy at Suomenlinna, or at the Military School of Aviation

at Kauhava. Candidates must be non-commissioned officers. The course lasts 100 days, after which the officer-candidate serves some time in the ranks. He receives his commission as second lieutenant at the end of his period as a recruit under compulsory military service.

Regular Officers. Active officers are trained at the above named three Academies. Applicants to these Academies must have passed their matriculation examinations and graduated from the Reserve Officers School. After the course of two and a half years the cadets are commissioned as first lieutenants and are assigned posts in the Armed Forces or the Frontier Guard. In addition to various specialized courses, active officers may take the captains' courses at the Infantry School or at other branch schools. At later stages in their careers the officers may take courses at the War College's General or Technical Departments.

Frontier Guard. The Frontier Guard is a paramilitary organization subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior. It comprises four Frontier Guard Districts, three Coast Guard Districts, the Frontier Guard School and the Coast Guard School. The Frontier and Coast Guards are completely military as to organization but their tasks, in addition to frontier control also consist of hunting and fishing surveillance, game protection marine rescue and similar services. The personnel are permanently enlisted and before going through special training within the organization of the Frontier Guard must

have received their initial training with the Armed Forces. In addition, the Frontier Guard takes charge of training a small number of recruits for the Armed Forces.

3. The Language Situation in the Forces

a) Swedish-speaking units

In the pre-War organization of the Army there existed three independent Swedish-speaking units and one bilingual unit. The independent units were the Coast Artillery Battalion at Hanko, the Vaasa Field Artillery Regiment, and the Nyland Infantry Regiment. The bilingual unit was the Suomenlinna Coast Artillery Regiment consisting of one Swedish-speaking and one Finnish-speaking battalion. Furthermore, the officers of the cavalry regiments, such as the Nylands Dragoner in Lappeenranta, were almost wholly Swedish-speaking. Since the war, however, a drastic decrease in the number of Swedish-speaking recruits and officer candidates, the apparent lure of larger centres and specialized technical units, the reorganization of the Forces as well as the ceiling placed on the total strength of the Armed Forces, have reduced the number of Swedish-speaking units to one, the Nyland Brigade, consisting of two infantry battalions, a Headquarters company, a non-commissioned officers school, a pioneer company, a signals company and a field artillery section, located at Dragsvik.

No Swedish units have ever existed in the Air Force or the Navy, either during the period of the Republic or prior to Independence.

b) Language Provisions in Law and their Application

There is only one language provision in the Constitution of Finland applicable to the Armed Forces, and it is found in paragraph 2 of Article 75 of the Finnish Constitution:[1]

> Every conscript, unless he otherwise desires, shall if possible be enrolled in a military unit of which the rank and file speak his own mother tongue (Finnish or Swedish) and shall receive his training in that language. Finnish shall be the language of command of the Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces, it appears, have done all in their power to fulfil the requirement of the first provision in the above law. However, the very small size of the Forces prevents the formation of parallel-language units, particularly in the specialized services. Furthermore, the apparent desire of the Swedish-speaking recruits to serve in more useful (from the point of view of learning a trade useful in civilian life) services, such as Motor Transport, or more glamorous ones, such as the Navy and Air Force, which are heavily Finnish, prevents

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1. A number of articles in several laws refer to this provision but do not materially expand it: e.g., Ch. XXV of Language Districting Ordinance 28.12.1962/687, which outlines the language regulations in the military districts in conformity with the administrative language districting. (Cf. chapter on Public Service on this and other language requirements of Officers of Armed Forces. Also see below p. 10).

the consolidation of Swedish recruits in units which can be maintained as Swedish language entities. As it is, the Swedish brigade at Dragsvik is having difficulties in maintaining its strength. This situation is further complicated, it is suggested, by the lure of the big city. The Swedish-speaking recruits from the rural areas would like to spend their service period near some large urban centre, rather than at the Swedish garrison at Dragsvik which is far removed from any such centre.

The first constitutional language provision provides indirectly for the teaching of recruits in the Swedish language at Dragsvik, while the second demands a minimal knowledge of Finnish. The attempt to fulfil the first language provision has also meant that most of the officer corps of the Nyland brigade is Swedish by mother tongue, although this is not required by law.

The training of non-commissioned officers is also conducted in the Swedish language, as is the training of recruits in the less specialized activities of the brigade. The more specialized trades demanded for the brigade, such as motor mechanics, signals, etc., require the sending of personnel to Finnish-speaking training centres.

The training of reserve and regular officers is entirely in Finnish although Swedish-speaking candidates are permitted, informally, to write essays on non-military subjects in Swedish. Military essays however must without exception be written in Finnish.

With regard to language knowledge demanded of officers, the basic Act 1.6.1922/149 as amended by 7.6.1935/222 applies. Article 3 of this Act requires all officers who are to serve with Finnish-speaking or Swedish-speaking units to be able to master completely the respective language of that unit. Officers who are to serve in capacities where they deal with units of both languages are required to master completely the Finnish language and be able to understand the Swedish language. The same requirements apply to officers serving within the administrative districting system in uni- or bilingual districts.[1]

Teachers at Armed Forces Academies are required to satisfy the same language requirements demanded of teachers at other state educational institutions. Non-commissioned officers must be able to handle the Swedish language in speech and writing if they wish to serve with Swedish-speaking units. They must also be able to speak Finnish. Non-commissioned officers serving with Finnish-speaking units are required merely to be able to use Finnish in speech and writing.[2]

Needless to say the requirements are somewhat dated for they were drawn up in the period when there were several Swedish-speaking units and a far larger Swedish-speaking officers' complement than today. In satisfying the above

1. Such as Military Governors and their staffs. Cf. chapter on Public Service, section five.
2. Decree 29.12.1922/132.

principles relating to officers' proficiency in languages it has become the rule to require officer-candidates educated in Swedish-speaking schools to demonstrate competence in the Finnish language.[1] Theoretically the reverse should also apply, as it does in the Public Service, but in practice this is not enforced for there is a feeling among the Swedo-Finns that one should not needlessly stir up trouble. Thus, high-ranking officers, whose commands or responsibilities cover both languages, should theoretically be able to understand the Swedish language. In practice, few are able to satisfy this requirement. On the other hand the path to promotion in the Forces demands good knowledge of Finnish. This is especially true from the rank of colonel upward. For example, all of the senior Swedo-Finn Colonels at present in the Army speak excellent Finnish. As a result of the training of regular officers in the Finnish language, even junior officers of Swedo-Finn extraction would be competent in Finnish.

c) Problems in attempting to satisfy the legal language provisions.

The first factor to consider in examining the "difficulties" and dissatisfactions concerning the language disposition of the Forces - problems that exist both in the Forces and among the population at large - is the sustained

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1. In this the same principle that governs State Service language competence is followed.

relative and absolute decline in the Swedo-Finn population over the life of the Republic.[1] The second factor to consider is the overwhelming atmosphere of Finnishness prevailing today, the result of decades of Finnization.[2] The first factor has meant a decreasing relative and absolute number of Swedo-Finn recruits[3] and the second factor has aggravated this condition by further withdrawing from service in the Swedo-Finn brigade numbers of Swedo-Finn recruits who prefer to serve with Finnish-speaking units.[4] In addition we have, of course, the above-mentioned but undocumented suggestions of the lure of big cities and glamourous or more "useful" arms of service which have made further inroads on the size and strength of the Swedish-speaking brigade.

The apparent disinterest of young Swedo-Finns in serving at Dragsvik and the difficulties experienced by the brigade in keeping up to authorized strength have caused fears among the

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1. See Chapter on Demography.
2. See Chapter on Historical Development, particularly Parts 3, and 4.
3. In relative terms the decrease has been most marked in a comparison of the pre-war with the post-war situation. From 1955 to 1964 however, the Swedo-Finn share of annual recruitment has not varied much, rising close to 6.0% from 1955 to 1957 and remaining within 0.5% of this since then. Cf. Appendix, Table II.
4. Swedish-speaking conscripts who hope to continue at university after their military service often cross-enlist with Finnish-speaking units in order to better their command of the Finnish language - a necessary precondition to success in all professions.

more militant Swedo-Finns, as represented in the Folkting, that further deterioration of the Nyland brigade might lead to the curtailment of the parallel-language service to ever smaller units. However, Swedish unilingual units are necessary in the light of a continuing body of Swedish unilingual conscripts.[1] To forestall any such attenuation, the Folkting, through its different organs, has waged a hard and continuous campaign to dissuade young Swedo-Finns from serving anywhere but at Dragsvik and to persuade the Armed Forces to pressure young Swedo-Finns into serving with the Swedish brigade. The campaign has been highly successful but not completely so, for the Armed Forces conscription regulations state clearly that a recruit has the right to express preference for a particular branch of service and that his request will be complied with insofar as he is qualified and there is an opening for him.[2]

The excessive pressures on the part of the Folkting which have forced Defence Headquarters to order Military Governors of Military Districts in charge of recruiting to try to persuade all Swedo-Finn recruits to choose to go to Dragsvik have led to rather silly situations. Swedish-speaking fishermen and sailors for example have in the past been "persuaded" on the

1. About 50% of Swedo-Finn recruits could not possibly be trained in Finnish because they are solely Swedish speaking.
2. On the whole, between 1947-1964 the efforts of the Folkting have paid off, for of all Swedish-speaking recruits between 1947 and 1964 an average of 95% served in the Swedish units. Cf. Appendix, Table III.

one hand, and "forced" by circumstances of the size of the Navy and language reasons on the other, to serve as soldiers at Dragsvik.

The situation as to the Navy appears somewhat ludicrous when it is considered that the Navy operates largely in the Åboland-Åland littoral and the coastal areas of the Gulf of Bothnia which are populated almost exclusively by Swedish-speaking fishermen whose Finnish is either non-existent or very poor. Yet the Navy is totally Finnish-speaking and for language reasons cannot accept Swedo-Finn sailors who cannot speak Finnish. Again, to teach Swedish-speaking sailors and fishermen Finnish in the short period of compulsory service is not feasible, particularly since the safety and operating capacity of small ships' complements require that all members of the crew understand each other perfectly.

Senior general staff-officers have long recognized the discrepancy between the language circumstances of the Navy and its peacetime operations in Swedish-speaking waters as an extension of the Coast Guard.[1] But largely for the stated reasons little can be done inscfar as the recruitment of Swedish-speaking are concerned.

As for the Naval Officers corps, where there is also a dearth of Swedo-Finns, the same situation applies as prevails in the officer class at large in all the services: there just are not enough Swedo-Finn applicants, either to the Reserve Officer Schools or to the Regular Officer Academies. The

1. Interview with a Naval General Staff Officer.

average proportion of Swedo-Finn candidates in both seems to run at about 10 percent - or about par with the relation of the Swedish-speaking population to total population.[1] This, however, given the relatively small Swedo-Finn population, the small Army, and the minuscule Navy with their small officers corps - is not sufficient to rescue the navy from its predicament or to give the Swedo-Finn population strong representation in the councils of the general staff.

TABLE I

Swedish-speaking Officers as Percentage of All Regular Officers on Active Duty on Jan 1, 1966 in the Armed Forces

Rank	Percentage
Lieutenant-General	0.0
Major-General/Rear Admiral	14.3
Colonel/Captain	9.0
Lieutenant-Colonel/Sr. Commander[2]	5.0
Major/Commander	4.8
Captain/Lt. Commander	4.0
Lieutenant Sr. Gr.	3.2
Lieutenant Jr. Gr.	4.2
All Ranks	4.4

1. The 10% figure is given by a former member of the staff (9 years) of the Military Academy at Hamina, and includes all those who speak good Swedish, i.e., from bilingual homes. If only those are taken into account who have graduated from Swedish secondary schools then the proportion would fall to approximately 6%.
2. Capitaine-de-frégate.

As Table I shows the present representation of Swedish officers in the Armed Forces is only 4.4%. In the subaltern ranks (Major, Captain and Lieutenant.) the average Swedo-Finn share is even lower than the total proportion, amounting to 4.1% only. In the field ranks (Lt.-Col. and up) the average is higher, 9.5%. However, the averages at this level are not significant since the total numbers, particularly at the Colonel and Major-General ranks, involved are very small.(1) To these figures it may be added that approximately 1.0% of all Finnish-speaking officers have attended Swedish schools prior to enlistment. Thus even though at least 5.4 per cent of all officers speak Swedish with facility, the Swedo-Finns, nevertheless, are under-represented in the officers corps as a whole.

(1) The total number of Colonels, for example, is only 80.

APPENDIX

TABLE II

Swedish-speaking Recruits as a Percentage of all Recruits 1955-1965

Year accepted for service	Percentage Swedish-speaking
1955	5.16
1956	5.62
1957	5.86
1958	5.86
1959	6.26
1960	5.62
1961	6.78
1962	6.30
1963	6.32
1964	6.08
1965	5.93

TABLE III

Swedish-speaking Recruits by Language of Service Unit

Period	Service Unit by Language [1]	
	Swedish	Finnish
1956-58	99.07	0.93
1959-61	94.85	5.15
1962-64	97.44	2.56
1947-64	94.95	5.05

1. Note the fluctuation in the three-year averages.

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Toivo Miljan
January, 1966

PUBLIC SERVICE

PART TWO - PUBLIC SERVICE

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PUBLIC SERVICE

The government of Finland is administered in a manner far removed from the Canadian example. Thus, before we can describe the linguistic regulations obtaining in the Finnish public service, we must first explain its organizational structure at both the national and the local levels. This is done in section one of the chapter. Further, it is necessary in section two to examine the classification of civil servants according to the methods used to employ them; for it is this same division which largely determines the level of linguistic ability required of officials. These preliminary matters having been treated, we shall turn finally to the substance of the chapter -- the language laws applying to the public service of Finland, both internally and in its dealings with the public.

1. Administrative Organization

Public administration in Finland can be divided into two main categories, state central, and local self-governmental administration. The latter category of administration is largely independent of the former and consists of 547 self-governing communes divided into three types: city, town and rural communes. There are three levels within the central administration with the Council of Ministers and the ten Ministries at the top, the Central State Authorities

in the middle, and the twelve Provincial Authorities at the lowest level.

Central State Administration. Overall executive authority in administrative matters rests with the President personally.[1] Central administrative and regulatory authority resides in the different Ministries and Central Authorities[2] as determined by Parliamentary laws, Presidential decrees or ordinances of the Council of Ministers.

The question of subordination of the Central Authorities to the Ministries is not very clear. They are deemed part of particular ministries but each authority has its own well-defined area of responsibility for which it is not answerable to the Minister or the Ministry to which it is attached. The principle followed in decision making by subordinate authorities of the state -- be they Central Authorities or bureaus thereof, bureaus of Ministries or Provincial Authorities -- is that all organs

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1. Constitution Act, Article 32.

2. The term Central Authority is used in all-embracing sense, and is a direct translation from the Finnish Keskusvirasto or the Swedish Centralstyrelse. Functionally these may be divided into three types -- the administrative and regulatory, such as the Board of Schools; the business oriented, such as the Railroad Authority or the Forest Authority; and research, such as the Statistical Central Bureau or the Oceanographic Research Institute. This is only a rough division and does not take account of the mixed functions of some authorities, particularly in the areas of administration and business.

act independently within the limits of the authority given them by statute, decree or delegated legislation. Responsibility in this case is not political, but legal, and recourse lies to the administrative law system and its courts.[1] Further insurance against ultra vires action on the part of the Central Authorities is provided by the principle of collegiality in decision.

It is clear that Finland does not follow the French or British pattern of exclusive ministerial departmental authority in administration, but rather imitates the Swedish system in combining independent collegial board authority with ministerial departmental authority. In this respect, Finland and Sweden diverge greatly from the two other Scandinavian countries, whose administrative systems compare directly with the French and British pattern. The reasons for the similarity between the Finnish and Swedish systems are, of course, historical and derive from the last two centuries of the joint kingdom

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1. Appeal may also lie to other higher administrative organs in specified cases. But under no circumstances may a higher organ reverse, rescind or amend a decision of a lower organ unless petitioned to do so by the persons legally affected by the decision. See also A. Enckell, Democratic Finland (London, 1948), pp. 83-84. For further information on Central Authorities, see Suomalainen Yhteiskunta [Finnish Society], (Yhtieskunnalisen Korkeakoulun Julkaisuja 10), (Hämeenlinna, 1958), pp. 85-86.

and the period of Finnish Autonomy when the present system was founded in the image of the Swedish.[1]

The organization of Provincial Authorities[2] stems likewise from the period of the joint kingdom, but is much older in origin, reaching back to the end of the sixteenth century when the old castle provinces were reorganized as local arms of the central administration. Today they still perform broadly the same functions but appear to have become somewhat redundant in the era of growing central power, diversification of functionally specialized bureaus and instant communication. In these circumstances, the provincial authorities have been stripped of important powers and left with broad regulatory duties -- perhaps the delegated residue that the specialized bureaus of the central government cannot or do not wish to handle -- such as acting as the highest police authority within the province, governing police activity, guarding security and keeping order in the province. The Provincial Authority also acts as the general, "superior executive authority and highest administrative authority" in the province, administers land surveys, governs the activities of the courts of first instance and acts as a court of appeal[3] and arbiter

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1. Cf. Chapter on Historical Introduction, section III, part 1, pp. 26-35.
2. Provinces in Finland are similar to the French départements. Constitutionally they do not have independent status as in Canada, but are subordinated to the central government.
3. The Provincial Administrative Court is composed of the personnel of the Provincial Administrative Authority. See above, Chapter on Courts, section 2, on the court personnel and function.

in cases concerning communal authorities and lower state bureaus or authorities within the province.[1]

Local Administration.[2] At the municipal level there is a system of self-government based on the commune. As at the provincial level, the present system of communal self-government was also created during the period of Autonomy and finds roots stretching back to the period of the joint kingdom. It was not until the communal reform of 1865 that the civil, municipal commune was created out of the historic church parish and, as the civic parallel to the ecclesiastic parish authority, was given most of the latter's former powers and duties. Even in this reform the Swedish example was followed, and the new communes were modelled on those created a few years earlier in Sweden. Cities were not involved in this reform, for most of them had received their charters from the kings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even with the coming of Independence, the old system of separate statutes governing cities and rural communes was continued. In 1948, however, a unified code, covering cities, rural communes and a third, in-between category, the market town, was drafted and put into operation.

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2. For further details on the Provincial Authority, see Suomalainen Yhteiskunta, op. cit., pp. 87-91.

3. For a background description of communal organization, see Appendix B.

According to the new Communal Self-Government Act, communes enjoy all rights of self-government in matters that concern the commune alone and do not trench on other authorities. Communal authorities are, however, responsible both politically to their members and legally to the administrative courts or to specific organs of the central government as defined by law. Responsibility for particular matters can also be delegated to the communes by the different organs of the central government, such as the Ministries or Central Authorities.[1] But in these matters they are responsible only to the administrative courts or to such organs as are specified and in the instances enumerated in the delegating legislation. The responsibility for supervising the communal organization lies with the Ministry of the Interior,[2] and the ultimate power regarding communal organization and legislation resides in Parliament. If to this we add those controls over particular services in communes such as police, building, health services, etc., that are supervised, controlled and /or directed by the Provincial Authority or specific Central Authorities,[3] we come to the conclusion that there are only three areas of communal self-government which are free from political

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1. Cf. Appendix A.
2. See Appendix A.
3. See Appendix A.

or administrative interference from the centre. These are the right to elect representative assemblies,[1] to enact internal laws and to administer these and other delegated legislation. Yet, despite these areas of independent action, it must not be forgotten that the communes are the creation of the centre and even in their sanctioned independence fit into and serve as part of the unified central governmental system.

The Constitution of Finland provides for the creation of larger areas of self-government than communes, but no such action has been taken or is likely to be taken in the foreseeable future. Periodically, however, the idea of some form of provincial self-government -- particularly something akin to the Swedish Provincial Assembly -- has been raised and discussed. Thus far the lack of a political forum at the provincial level appears to have been overcome by close cooperation between communes, particularly through the organization of communal federations for special purposes, such as the building of a large hospital or school. Each communal federation has its own council, elected by the councils of the member communes, which appoints an authority to run the common institutions or services. This system is so extensive and, apparently, so effective that most communes are

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1. Communal self-government is guaranteed by the Constitution Act, Article 51, paragraph 2.

members of several communal federations.

2. Appointment of Public Servants

Finnish Public Servants can be divided into two categories, State Servants,[1] who are appointed by the central government, and Civic Servants, who are appointees of the communal authorities. By distinguishing between methods of appointment, the former category can be subdivided into three groups and the latter into at least five.

State Servants. The majority of state servants with the central government are appointed by letters patent, and hence can only be dismissed through the procedures of administrative law. The grounds for dismissal are narrow: state servants in this category may be dismissed only if they have demonstrated through their actions, either in the service or in private life, that they are not worthy of the trust placed in them and the respect accorded them as state servants, or for physical or psychological disability. In both cases the decision rests with the highest authority within

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1. The term "State Servants" is used to distinguish it from the Canadian concepts of Public and Civil Servants, for, in Finland, the "Public Service" includes judges, public school teachers, etc., as well as "Civil Servants".

the Ministry or Central Authority to which they are attached. After dismissal, the state servant may appeal the decision to the High Court of State Servants (Virkaylioikeus or Tjänsteöverdomstolen) which has final jurisdiction over all dismissals, except those of judges who are governed by special laws and the regular courts or the High Court of Impeachment, as the case may be.[1] Criminal charges against state servants are dealt with by the regular courts according to the Criminal Procedural Code.

A second category of state servants contains only a small number of high public officials, such as deputy ministers and directors of Central Authorities. These are appointed by so-called open letters or commissions, and they can be dismissed, without right of appeal, by the President when he deems such a step to be in the interest of the state. Note that this category is not composed of political appointees and their dismissal does not hinge on the party or parties in office. Only once were officials in this category dismissed for political reasons. This was after the Second World War, when foreign pressures so dictated.[2] Officers of the armed

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1. Cf. Chapter on the Law and Courts, section on Courts.
2. Compare with similar foreign pressures on the Law and the Constitution. See Chapter on Law, infra.

forces are also appointed by this type of commission.

A third category of state servants is appointed by so-called letters of appointment to particular jobs or positions. This category consists largely of clerical and hourly-rated personnel, such as typists, porters and cleaners. The majority of police constables also belong in this category. These people can be dismissed by the appointing authority on its own discretion.

Civic Public Servants. Although it is difficult to put civic public servants into fixed categories, it is possible to discern at least five different methods of appointment and tenure. First, municipal Directors and Assistant Directors are appointed by the municipal Assembly[1] and hold office at the pleasure of the Assembly. Second, civic servants working for the communal administration are appointed by the Council[1] and hold office at its pleasure. Third, there are civic servants who are appointed by various Central Authorities or a Provincial Authority by open letters of commission, such as communal policemen, who, although paid by the communes, hold office at the pleasure of the appointing authority. Fourth, there is a class of civic servants appointed by the Provincial Authority, such

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1. Cf. Appendix B on the difference between "Assembly" and "Council".

as the aldermen or assistant magistrates, who, although paid by the municipality, can only be dismissed by the procedures laid down by administrative law. Fifth, magistrates[1], appointed by the Supreme Court and paid by the municipality, hold office during good behaviour and can only be dismissed by the Supreme Court.

3. Language Districting

Upon the administrative[2] and judicial districting[3] there is superimposed a language districting that determines the language usage of the authorities within a particular administrative district, and that regulates the language rights that citizens may demand in their contacts with these authorities. It is decreed in Article 1 of Chapter II of the basic Language Act (1.6.1922/148) that judicial and other state authorities and citizens having business with these shall use either the Finnish or the Swedish language in accordance with the provisions spelled out in Chapters II, III and IV of the Act. These provisions are based entirely on a districting of the country into three types of language areas -- unilingual Finnish,

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1. Cf. Appendix B on the definition of "Magistrate".
2. Outlined above in section 1.
3. Outlined in section 3 of the Chapter on Law and the Courts.

unilingual Swedish and bilingual Finnish and Swedish.

Article 2 of Chapter I lays down the basis of this districting as being the language or languages spoken in individual communes. Paragraph 1 of Article 2 specifically states that:

> an administrative district or self-government area that coincides with a commune is to be regarded as unilingual if the commune only has residents of one language group or if the number of those belonging to the other of the nation's language groups is less than ten per cent of the total population, but as bilingual if the number of those who belong to the other language group rises to this percentage or reaches at least 5,000.

Paragraph 2 goes on to state that administrative districts or areas of self-government that contain several communes are to be regarded as unilingual only if they include communes with the same language. A district that contains bilingual communes or communes with different languages must, in all matters concerning such communes, be considered as having the same language as the latter.

The division of communes and administrative districts into the three language categories is to be effected by the Council of State decennially following each census on the basis of the census data. There is a proviso that communes which were bilingual under the preceding Language Districting Ordinance are not to be declared unilingual unless

the percentage of the minority has fallen below eight per cent or below 5,000 individuals.[1]

The Ordinance which is presently in force -- the Ordinance Concerning the Language Division of Administrative Districts and Self-Government Areas During 1963 - 1972 (28.12.1962/687) -- is divided into twenty-five Chapters, each listing the language divisions of defined administrative districts in specific areas of administrative jurisdiction. As is characteristic of all such Ordinances, the existing one begins with the communes in Chapter I and divides these, by province, into the three major categories,[2] but adds four sub-divisions to the bilingual group. These are bilingual communes which have a Finnish majority, and a Swedish minority of one third or more; those with a Finnish majority, and a Swedish minority of under one third of the population; those with a Swedish majority, and a Finnish minority of one third or more; and those with a Swedish majority, and a Finnish minority of under one third of the population.[3]

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1. Language Act, ibid., Chapter I, Article 2, paragraph 13.
2. Since bilingual communes form the exception rather than the rule, it is only necessary to list the specific exceptions in the Ordinance and deal with the majority of communes in comprehensive terms.
3. An appendix to the Ordinance lists all communes alphabetically, gives their total population, their number of Finnish-speakers, their number of Swedish-speakers, and indicates in which of the three main groups and four subdivisions the commune belongs.

During the decade 1963-1972, bilingual communes will be found in four provinces and will number 47 in all. In the same period, 28 Swedish-speaking communes will be found in three provinces, in addition to the 16 communes in Åland which are all Swedish-speaking.[1]

The second Chapter of the Language Districting Ordinance, entitled Administrative Division, and subdivided into three sections -- Provinces, Administrative Circuits and Rural Sheriffs' Districts -- deals with the language regulations applied in these three specific areas of provincial territorial administration.

Insofar as the Provinces are concerned, all containing any Swedish-speaking or bilingual communes are declared to be either bilingual or Swedish in their relations with these communes. Thus, Uusimaa, Turku-Pori, Vaasa and

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1. Linguistic division of communes, 1963 - 1972.

Finnish-speaking	456
Swedish-speaking	44
Bilingual	47
Total	547

The Swedish communes are distributed by province as follows:

Uusimaa	2	as compared to	20	Finnish Communes
Turku-Pori	3	"	105	"
Vaasa	23	"	42	"
Åland	16	"	0	"
Total	44		167	

The bilingual communes are distributed as follows:

Uusimaa	24
Turku-Pori	9
Kymi	1
Vaasa	13

Kymi provinces are bilingual with respect to their bilingual communes and Swedish-speaking in respect to the Swedish-speaking communes within their respective territorial jurisdictions.[1] The same provinces are, of course, Finnish-speaking in their relations with Finnish communes. The other provinces, except for Åland -- which is wholly Swedish-speaking and has no Finnish or bilingual communes -- are all Finnish-speaking.

Similarly the Administrative Circuits are declared unilingual Finnish or Swedish or bilingual according to the language or languages of the communes falling within them.

Rural Sheriffs' Districts[2] are further subdivisions of the Administrative Circuits. Insofar as these cover unilingual or bilingual communes they are declared unilingual or bilingual.

The Ordinance then deals with the language districting in the judicial administration in Chapter III, and with the language districting in the territorial organization of

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1. The province of Kymi, since it has only one bilingual commune and no Swedish-speaking communes is, of course, bilingual only in respect to the one bilingual commune and Finnish-speaking for the rest.
2. This is a rough translation of the Finnish Nimismiespiirit or the Swedish Länsmansdistrikten. They may also be translated as rural police and prosecution districts, or as counties.

the Church (Lutheran[1]) in Chapter IV, again on the basis of the divisions drawn in Chapter I. Then, from Chapter V through Chapter XXV, the Ordinance details the official language or languages of the territorial districts of all central governmental authorities -- Ministerial Departments and Central Authorities -- that have territorial organizations, such as the Medical Authority, the Board of Schools, the Forestry Authority, the Railroad Authority and the Customs Board. All of these language divisions are again based on the principles and rules found in Articles 1 and 2 of Chapter I of the Language Act of 1922 (1.6.1922/148) and directly on the primary, communal language divisions based on these in Chapter I of the Ordinance.

4. Language Rights of Citizens[2]

The basic language rights of Finnish citizens are simply stated in Chapter II, Article 3 of the Language Act of 1922, as amended in 1935, which declares that:

> a Finnish citizen has ... the right to use his own language, Finnish or Swedish on his own behalf, or when being heard before a state authority ...[3]

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1. The State Church. Other Churches have more freedom in the language field. There are no laws to guide and restrain them.
2. For a discussion of the theoretical implications lying behind these rights, see Appendix C.
3. Language Act (1.6.1922/148), Chapter I, Article 3, paragraph 1.

This same basic right is extended to social organizations, both public and private, that directly concern the individual in his everyday life at the local and personal levels. For the same sentence continues:

> also, communes and other self-governing societies, religious organizations, as well as national federations, joint stock companies, institutions and foundations [have the right to use] their language of record, in the same manner as educational and training institutions [have the right to use] their language of instruction [before courts and other state authorities].

Though this basic right of language is untrammelled by other legislation, its operation is burdened, nevertheless, by procedural arrangements which severely restrict this provision to its precise statement that citizens have the right to use their own language when appearing before courts and other state authorities on their own behalf or when being heard by such an authority.

The ideal is, of course, to provide precisely the same right of access to all citizens, regardless of language. However, since the Swedish language group forms such a small and declining minority -- it was just under eleven per cent of the population at the time of the enactment of the Language Act and is only 7.4 per cent at the moment -- and since it is concentrated in one province and specific areas in three other contiguous provinces,

it would have been prohibitively expensive and grossly inefficient to have maintained the bilingual staff requisite to fulfill the ideal. As a compromise, the Finns introduced the language districting system, which provides as much procedural equality as is administratively possible.

If the language districting system is a compromise, this still does not detract from the limited, but basic right guaranteed to every citizen in the Language Act. If, for example, a Swedish-speaking Finn has occasion to appeal to or appear before a state authority in an area of the country where Swedish is seldom spoken, the state is obliged to provide officials who will at least understand such an appeal. Recognition on the part of the state of this obligation is found in the extensive regulations concerning language knowledge of state servants.[1]

For administrative purposes the language obligations of the state are divided into two main categories of rules and regulations, known as the External Official Language and the Internal Official Language.

External Official Language. The External Official Language is defined as the language to be used by a state authority in dealing with private citizens. The rules and regulations covering the External Official Language are found in Chapter III of the Language Act. These

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1. See below, section 5.

provisions are comprehensive for all state authorities and thus include the courts and Central Authorities as well as the communes.[1] As in language legislation in general, the rules governing the External Official Language are grounded on the basic principle of communal language districting.

The Rules. The principal rule governing language relations between state authorities and private citizens is found in the first sentence of the first article (Article 3) of Chapter II of the Language Act. This reads:

> The official language of the district shall be used at the courts and other state authorities, and in bilingual districts either of the two official languages of the district shall be used.

The same paragraph then goes on to affirm the basic right of citizens and certain public or private non-state organizations to use either of the two languages, provided it is their mother tongue, regardless of the principal rule.

Paragraph 2 of the same Article provides for the partial fulfillment of the basic right in making it a

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1. Although the rules are comprehensive, the particular requirements of some authorities, such as the courts, necessitate special exceptions, which are incorporated into the text of the Act immediately following the statement of the comprehensive rule on a particular point.

duty of the court or other state authority to translate any documents that have been presented to it in the other national language contrary to the principal rule. The cost of such translation shall, however, be borne by the person who submitted the original document.

Yet a further general obligation, elaborating the basic right of the citizen, is found in Article 4, which requires state servants -- including public prosecutors and state counsel -- when acting on behalf of the state to use the language of the respondent in verbal communication insofar as their position within the state service is one requiring an ability to speak that language.[1]

The above rules are designed to protect the basic language right of the citizen when the regular, procedural rules, based on the principle of language districting, cannot be applied. In no way do these rules lessen the regular language duties of the state, but rather add to them and amplify the rights of citizens.

The state's regular language obligations, that is, those based on the language districting system, differ

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1. See below, section 5. See also section on Court Personnel in Chapter on Law and the Courts, and note that in the courts or before police authorities interpreters may be used when required.

according to whether the district is bilingual or not. In unilingual administrative districts the rule is simple: state authorities must hand out decisions (and supporting documents) in the official language of the district.[1] In bilingual districts, on the other hand, the rule is a little more complicated: state authorities must hand out decisions[2] (and supporting documents) in the language used by the party or parties concerned, or which they have agreed to use.[3] If, however, the parties concerned do not use the same language, then the majority language of the district shall be used, unless the authority in question, having regard to justice and the advantage of the parties, decides otherwise.[4] In addition, higher state authorities, when dealing with appeal cases, are required to employ the language used in the original case in issuing their decisions.[5]

All communal authorities (and other self-governing authorities) are required to submit to the rules governing other state authorities. An exception occurs when, in a bilingual commune, the minority language group makes up

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1. Language Act, Chapter II, Article 5, paragraph 1.
2. The term used in Swedish is expedition, and in Finnish toimituskirja, which compare with the French expédition. The closest English equivalent would perhaps be disposition.
3. Language Act, Chapter II, Article 6, paragraph 1.
4. Language Act, Chapter II, Article 6, paragraph 2.
5. Language Act, Chapter II, Article 8, paragraph 1.

less than one third of the population. Then the communal authority may issue the decision in the language of the majority, regardless of the language of the party concerned. But even in this case, the authority is required to provide a legally valid translation, without cost to the party concerned, if that party is entitled to use the language of the minority and if he demands a translation.[1]

Thus, this provision does not constitute so much an exception to the general language regulations covering bilingual districts as it constitutes a means to facilitate the handling of cases by communal authorities by leaving the translation to be handled after the decision by competent translators. This is a boon to the bilingual communes where the minority is small, for the majority of officials elected or appointed will be unilingual, as communal public servants are not required to submit to the stiff language tests that state servants of comparable rank are required to pass. It appears, then, that this provision is included to safeguard the independence of the commune. Indeed there are no laws to force a unilingual commune to act bilingually, nor a bilingual commune to become more bilingual than it is, nor to force the communal authority to be more bilingual than the commune itself wishes to be or so decides.

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1. Language Act, Chapter II, Article 7, paragraph 2.

Yet another provision safeguards the independence of the commune. If a higher authority requires a unilingual commune to express an opinion, explanation or view on a particular document that is written in the other national language, then the higher authority in question is required to arrange for a legally valid translation of the document before submitting it to the commune.[1]

Finally, state and communal authorities must issue by-laws, regulations and communications concerning the population of the district in the official language of that district, if that district is unilingual, or in both official languages when that district is bilingual.

In summation, the main External Language obligations of state authorities are to provide facilities to satisfy the requirements of a language districting based on the principle of official language or languages for districts divided into unilingual and bilingual categories. By means of different rules of procedure for the two classes of districts, as fair access as is consonant with efficient administrative practice is provided for all citizens regardless of language.

The solution is not ideal, for it is, as was stressed before, a compromise between the democratic concept of majority rule and the individualistic concept of citizens'

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1. Language Act, Chapter III, Article 9.

rights. Yet, it appears to be the best possible solution given the opposing tendencies of the two concepts and the peculiar circumstances of a small minority concentrated within well-defined territorial limits. The stamp of compromise is brought into relief when one considers the range of the solutions, which vary from the virtually ideal situation in bilingual districts where both majority and minority have equal access to state authority, to the unilingual district where the minority has equal access with the majority only in matters of criminal procedure, but in routine administrative matters (and grievances) is left only the basic right to use its own language, but not to receive the disposition in it, except when a member of the minority asks for and pays the costs of a post-disposition translation.[1]

At the same time, while as many language obligations as possible are demanded of the state authorities, communal self-government, based on both the concepts of majority rule and minority rights, is permitted to operate unhindered by language duties. This is possible, of course, only because of the geographic concentration of the minority language group and the legal requirement that communal boundaries be drawn up as closely as possible on the

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1. Note, however, that in the 44 unilingual Swedish communes and in the unilingual-Swedish province (Åland) the situation is reversed. Finnish-speakers are in the minority and are thus deprived of complete access in Finnish to administrative authority. Nevertheless, this situation does not equate the two languages, even in deprivation, for while there are only 44 unilingual Swedish communes, there are 456 unilingual Finnish communes.

principle of separation of language groups in different communes.[1] Because the same principle determines administrative districting, no great administrative injustice is perpetrated by the unequal language rights accorded the minority language group in unilingual areas. However, the original purpose of the language legislation of Finland should not be confused: it was designed to satisfy the political pressures of the Swedo-Finn minority and to protect the language of this minority as much as was administratively possible; it was not primarily designed to protect individual rights regardless of language.

But the concept of justice -- inherent in the society that is Finland -- and the provisions of the Constitution demand that all citizens be given equal protection by the law. It is to accede to this constitutional requirement that the apparent exceptions to the language districting rules have been created and that the rules regulating the duty of the state to translate documents are more complex than they might be.[2]

Internal Official Language. The Internal Official Language is defined as the language used within the authorities themselves in such matters as records,

1. Constitution Act, Article 50, paragraph 3.
2. See Language Act, Article 7, paragraph 2; Article 15, paragraph 2; Article 4; Article 8, paragraph 2; Article 9, paragraph 2: the Decree of 29.12.1922/311, Articles 1 - 6: and the whole of the Decree of 21.4.1923/106.

documents not handed to individual parties along with the disposition, and correspondence between different authorities. The regulations concerning the Internal Official Language are drawn up mainly for administrative convenience and touch only indirectly the main purport of the language laws -- the protection of the minority language and the language rights of individual citizens.

As are the Languages Laws, the rules governing the Internal Official Language are fitted into the framework of language districting. In unilingual districts the rule simply holds that the district's official language[1] shall be used internally. In bilingual districts, including districts which include bilingual communes or communes with different languages, the authorities should use the language of the majority of the district as the Internal Official Language, except when handling a case, in which circumstances the language of the case must be used. Similarly, minutes of a hearing should be kept in the language in which the hearing is conducted.

Regarding internal communications between higher and lower authorities, the correspondence shall be conducted in the language that the lower authority is required by law to use in the case at hand. But even here, a lower authority may not refuse to accept a communication

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1. The official language is, of course, the External Official Language, or the language of the unilingual district as per the decennial Language Districting Ordinance.

from a higher authority in the language other than its own official language if it is required to understand the other language.[1]

In direct reference to the minority protection function of the Language Laws, authorities and officials serving only the one language group may use the official language of their authority irrespective of the language district in which the authority of the official in question (such as an Inspector of Swedish Schools) is located.[2]

Communes and other self-governing areas are required to follow the general Internal Official Language regulations as prescribed for state authorities. They must also communicate with subordinate authorities in the latter's official language.

But, in addition, bilingual communes, where the minority forms less than one third of the population, are given the right to declare, through their Municipal Assemblies, the language of the majority to be the Internal Official Language, provided that legally valid translations into the minority language are appended to the records and other internal documents whenever the minority language should be used. This, however, does not prevent any commune

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L. An example of this would be a Swedish language letter from the Supreme Court to the East Finland Court of Appeal. The official language of the latter -- internal and external -- is Finnish, but the Court is required to be able to understand Swedish.

2. Language Act, Chapter III, Article 14.

(or other self-governing area) from declaring through its governing, representative assembly both languages as equal Internal Official Languages.[1]

Finally, to facilitate communication at the decision-making level, regardless of language, members of collegial authorities in bilingual districts (both state and communal) are given the right to use whichever language best suits them in their internal official capacities. Similarly, to ease decision making at the communal and self-governing level, members of representative assemblies, official committees and commissions are given the same rights. In addition, members of representative assemblies, who do not understand the other language, have, like Members of Parliament, the right to have the kernel of matters discussed translated for them by private interpreters, if they so wish.

In summation, then, the Internal Official Language regulations appear to have been created primarily for administrative convenience and have only marginal significance in preserving and protecting the minority language or in furthering individual citizens' rights.[2]

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1. Here again we see self-government in action at the communal level.

2. Perhaps the cumbersome term "citizens' rights" needs explaining. Finland, a legally and administratively oriented society, appears to pay little heed to the fashionable North American concept of human rights inherent in our concept of civil liberties, but instead concerns itself with what we would call political or legal rights, that is, rights accorded to the citizen alone. Foreigners and non-citizens are accorded the legal rights enjoyed by Finnish citizens by courtesy only. But citizens' rights in Finland also include such positive social rights as the right to work the right to a minimum standard of living, freedom of religion, etc., which we often consider

These regulations, nevertheless, must be included among the language obligations of the state, for they were created to complete the administrative arrangements permitting citizens to exercise their constitutional language rights.

5. State Servants and Language

The two categories of language obligations of the state -- External Official Language and Internal Official Language -- are not sufficient in themselves either to guarantee citizens their language rights or to protect the language of the minority. A third obligation now befalls the state: in order to permit the operation of the regulations governing the two former language obligations, officials are required to handle their duties in Swedish, in Finnish, or in both languages, as set out by administrative language regulations.

The regulations governing language requirements can be divided into three sections: first, the language knowledge demanded of state servants; second, the Examination Regulations; and third, the Examination Boards.

Language Knowledge Demanded of State Servants. The language requirements for state servants are found in the Language Knowledge Demanded of State Servants Act, 1.6.1922/149, as amended,[1] and in the Decree

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1. The amendments are found in 7.6.1935/222.

implementing the Act, 9.12.1922/312, as amended.[1] The main provisions, found in Article 1 of the Act, are based on the principles of administrative language districting. In simplified form they are listed in the accompanying table:

TABLE I

Type of office		Districts with one official language		Districts with two official languages	
		Language of district	Other domestic language	Language of majority	Language of minority
Graduate office-holder	a) Judiciary offices	Complete knowledge	Ability to speak	Complete knowledge	Ability to speak and write
	b) Other offices		Ability to understand		
Other offices (whose holders need not be university graduates)		"Sufficient" knowledge as provided by ordinance			

Source: V. Merikoski, "The Realization of the Equality of the National Languages in Finland", Democracy in Finland (Helsinki, 1960) p.89.

1. The amendments are found in: Decrees 20.12.1935/419 and 21.8.1959/345, and in the Ordinance 9.9.1959/355.

As the table shows, all state offices are classified, depending on the language area districting, into one of three required levels of language proficiency. In officially unilingual districts, the most stringent language requirements are demanded of holders of judicial offices: complete knowledge of the official language plus ability to speak the other national language. The officials at the second level of proficiency -- officials whose offices demand a university degree -- are required merely to be able to understand the second national language. At the lowest level -- officeholders whose offices do not require university graduation -- the language requirements are regulated by simple ordinance. In officially bilingual districts, officeholders at the two higher levels are required to have complete knowledge or "mastery" of the majority language of the district and ability to both speak and write the language of the minority. At the lowest level of proficiency, officeholders' language requirements are regulated by simple ordinance, as at the corresponding level in the unilingual districts.

Both the Act and the Decree, of course, go into further detail and define the rules regulating appointment of persons to offices in state teaching institutions, the Armed Forces (both commissioned and non-commissioned officers) of magistrates in Town Courts, and burgomasters in Municipal Chambers, administrative officials and teachers at schools of

seamanship, etc.[1] In Article 5, the Act empowers the President to give dispensation from the language knowledge requirements to certain officials under specified conditions. In Article 4 the Act requires the Council of State to decide on knowledge requirements for other languages than the national languages when necessary.

Examination Regulations. To ensure that the language knowledge requirements at the different levels in the two categories are fulfilled by officials, a Decree[2] was enacted that provides for examinations to be passed by all candidates for positions at the two upper language proficiency levels. The Decree provides first for the setting up of two Language Examination Boards[3] and then proceeds to outline the specific details of the syllabus of examinations. As there are four degrees of proficiency, so four different examination syllabi are needed.[4] Article 3 requires that, in examinations testing the ability of a candidate to master completely either the Finnish or the Swedish language, the candidate demonstrates his ability to handle freely the language in question, without help of dictionaries or grammars, by speaking and writing in general matters, as well as in his specific academic

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1. Cf. the Act as amended, Articles 2 and 3 and the Decree as amended, Articles 1-9.

2. Decree concerning the examinations to be passed to demonstrate knowledge of the Finnish and Swedish languages, 29.12.1922/313, as amended by 20.4.1928/121 and 16.11.1951/570.

3. Cf. section on Language Examination Boards, infra.

4. Cf. Table I, p. A 130.

discipline or profession. This examination is waived for those who have passed final university exams in the language in question and for those who have proved to the satisfaction of the Examination Board, through earlier literary activity or through previous state service, that they have a complete mastery of the language in question.

Article 4 outlines the requirements for the second level of proficiency. Candidates for positions requiring ability to use one of the languages in speech and writing are required to demonstrate to the Examiner that they can understand, speak and write the language in question sufficiently to be able to handle all business of the position applied for in that language, and to make presentations in that language.

At the third level of proficiency -- ability to speak the language in question -- Article 5 requires the examinee to demonstrate that he understands both the written and spoken form of the language, and is able to speak it.

Article 6 provides for the examination of the fourth level of proficiency -- ability to understand the language in question. The candidate is required to demonstrate that he is able to understand both the written and spoken forms of the language in question.[1]

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1. Article 7 exempts those who have received their education in the language in question from the examinations prescribed in Articles 4, 5 and 6.

The above four examinations of language proficiency are, of course, outlined only for the two higher classes of state servants; the judiciary and graduate officeholders. There are no fixed regulations for examination of language proficiency at the third, or lowest, level of state servants.

For teachers at state schools there are additional and somewhat different requirements. These are enumerated in Articles 8 and 9 as amended in 1951 and 1928,[1] and in a supplementary Decree of 23.4.1923/113.[2]

Language Examination Boards. The Examination Decree of 29.12.1922/313, as amended, provides for the establishment of two Language Examination Boards, one for the Finnish and one for the Swedish language. Each Board is to be composed of three regular members plus any necessary number of temporarily co-opted members from different parts of the country. The regular members are to be appointed by the Council of State while the co-opted members are also to be appointed by the Council of State, but on the recommendation of the regular members. One of the regular members must be a language teacher and another must be trained in the law. The co-opted members must each represent a different profession.[3]

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1. Cf. Decrees of 16.11.1951/570 and 20.4.1928/121.

2. Decree Containing Supplementary Regulations in the Demonstration of Knowledge in the Finnish and Swedish Languages 28.4.1923/113, as amended in 20.12.1935/420.

3. Cf. Article 1 of Examination Decree. The reason for this is that at least one of the examiners in the examination for the two higher levels of proficiency must belong to the same profession, or have training in the same academic discipline, as the examinee.

The Decree further orders that only the examination for the comprehensive degree of proficiency shall be taken before the full Board. The examinations for the other three degrees of proficiency may be taken before any one regular or co-opted member of the respective Board, with the proviso that the examinee, should he be dissatisfied with the result of the single-member examination, may demand a full Board examination.

When an examination is taken before the full Board, then at least one regular member and other members experienced in language teaching, in the profession of the examinee and in law, must be present. However, the Board is legally competent to decide on the examination result if at least the two first mentioned members are present and agree in their decision.[1]

In addition to the above listed regulations governing Language Examination Boards, an Ordinance of the State Council[2] instructs the Boards in detail how to organize themselves and their work, how to issue certificates of different degrees of proficiency and how to perform the examination. On the first point the Boards are instructed

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1. Cf. Article 2 of Examination Decree.

2. Ordinance Containing Instructions for Members of Examination Boards in the Setting Up of Examinations in the Finnish and Swedish Languages, 3.3.1923/82, as amended 30.1.1936/79.

to meet separately but may meet together to discuss proposals (to be submitted to the Council of State) for necessary changes in procedure or principle.[1] The Boards are also required to appoint a common secretary whose duties are precisely outlined: 1. to accept applications for examination, 2. to send out notices of meetings to members of the Boards, 3. to keep the minutes of the Boards' meetings when this is considered necessary, 4. to handle the issuance of certificates of proficiency, and 5. to keep a record of all the certificates issued.[2]

On the second point the Ordinance gives the specific wording to be followed in the issuance of each of the four different levels of proficiency examinations,[3] including the dispensation certificate for those required to take the comprehensive examination but who, on grounds of literary activity or past performance in the state service, have demonstrated full mastery of the language in question.[4]

On the third point, the Ordinance regulates the degree of difficulty in the different levels of examination. In the comprehensive examination, for example, the examinee is required to make a written presentation on some topic, determined by the Board, within his professional competency.

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1. Ordinance 3.3.1923/82, Article 1.
2. Ibid., Article 2.
3. Cf. the different wordings provided in Articles 5, 7, 8, 9 of the Ordinance 3.3.1923/82.
4. Cf. Examination Decree 29.12.1922/313, Article 3. Also see above p. A 133.

The examinee is then required to discuss questions within the capacity of his profession with the member of the Board who is also a member of his own profession. The examination may further involve the translation of legal texts, law collections or other comparably basic source literature into the language that the examinee is being tested in.[1]

The examinations for the other three degrees of proficiency are similarly precisely detailed, even to the point in the second level of proficiency, that prescribed knowledge levels are listed for the certificate classifications of "good" and "satisfactory"[2].

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that at least the two top levels of examinations are very stiff. One of my interviewees required several tries before he finally passed the comprehensive test, and before he got the position he has today. It should also be pointed out that it is the Swedo-Finns who suffer most from the language examinations. Because the wholly Swedish-speaking areas or Swedish majority districts are so few, any Swedo-Finn who wishes to rise in the state hierarchy, or even wishes to work for the central administration in a graduate capacity is required to pass the stiff comprehensive test in Finnish. Finnish-speaking Finns, on the other hand,

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1. Cf. Article 5 of Ordinance 3.3.1923/82.

2. Ibid., Articles 6-9.

in most cases get by with a fourth level examination, taken before a single member of the Swedish Language Board, in which they are required but to demonstrate (in Finnish) that they understand written and spoken Swedish. However, note that in central state administrative offices all graduate officeholders are required to demonstrate at the very least the minimal fourth degree of proficiency in the other national language, which in almost all cases is Swedish.[1]

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1. It should be noted that the standard of Swedish tests may be slipping as the Swedo-Finn areas of the country are decreasing, and as the Swedo-Finns are more and more willing to use Finnish when necessary. The necessity for knowledge of Swedish thus decreases and consequently the general level of proficiency in Swedish in the public service goes down. Hence, examination standards between languages may vary considerably.

Appendix A

Ministries and Central Authorities

1. Foreign Affairs: administratively handles Finland's relations with foreign parties and supervises diplomatic and consular representatives.

2. Justice: deals with the organization of the judiciary the preparation of laws not under the jurisdiction of some other ministry, the supervision of penitentiaries and the arrangement of parliamentary and presidential elections. The Ministry also has partial jurisdiction over administrative matters concerning courts of the first and second instance and the Land Partition Court.

3. Interior: handles all matters concerning order and security within the state and supervises provincial administration, local government, police services and the Frontier Guard. The Medical Directorate is an independent authority, organizationally part of the Ministry of the Interior. It handles, supervises and regulates medical and health services in Finland.

4. Finance: handles all matters concerning expenditure and raising of money for state purposes, supervises the activities of communal and savings banks, credit establishments and pawnbrokers. The Customs Authority, the State Accounting Authority, the Mint, the Financial Courts, and the Official Stamp and Excise Authority are all independent Central Authorities under the Ministry of Finance.

5. Defence: handles the administrative side of the Armed Forces, while military matters are solely in the hands of the General Headquarters of the Forces and the President.

6. Education: is concerned with religious communities, educational matters, cultural matters (the arts and athletics), scientific research and universities. The Board of Schools, an independent Central Authority within the Ministry of Education, supervises primary and secondary schools. Among higher educational institutes the University of Helsinki enjoys a high degree of autonomy. For example, the Constitution requires the Rector of the University to be present in the Council of Ministers when matters concerning the University are handled.

7. Agriculture: handles matters concerning agricultural economy, the forests, fishing, hunting, colonization, surveying and animal husbandry. It also manages crown forests and farms. The educational institutes of agriculture, forestry and household economics are supervised by the Ministry. The Board of Agriculture, the Forestry Board, the Department of Surveying and Cartography, the Department of Weights and Measures, the Meteorological Institute, the Geodetic Institute and the Rural Reservation Board are all Central Authorities subordinated to the Ministry.

8. Communications and Public Works: controls communications, postal and telegraph services, waterfalls, hydro installations belonging to the state, and all public works and monuments. This Ministry is also in charge of preventing unemployment and takes care of general matters concerning unemployment. Under the general supervision of the Ministry are subordinated the Public Buildings Board, the Board of Bridges, Roads and Rivers, the Railway Board, the Postal and Telegraphic Services Board, the Committee for Hydro Installations and the Water Courses Committee.

9. Commerce and Industry: takes care of all matters concerning commerce and industry, mercantile matters and mining as well as mercantile and navigation schools. Subordinated to the Ministry are a number of Authorities; the Navigation Board, the Hydrographic Institute, the Geological Committee, the Bureau of Technical Instruction, the Patents and Commercial Registration Office, the Chamber of Commerce, the Electrical Inspection Service and the Maritime Insurance Adjudicator.

10. Social Affairs: is concerned with general conditions of work, unemployment insurance, public assistance, child welfare and temperance. Subordinated to it are such Central Authorities as the Workers' Accident Bureau, and the Industrial Board, and individual, semi-independent authorities such as lunatic asylums, reformatories, labour inspectors and public assistance inspectors.

11. Chancellery of the Cabinet: This is not a Ministry in the sense of the other Ministries but it nevertheless forms a part of the central Government and is represented by a Minister in the Council of Ministers. It supervises cabinet business, acts as a link between Government and Parliament, manages the property used by the President and the Cabinet, distributes titles and honours, surveys general statistics and is generally responsible for everything that does not come under any other ministry. It has subordinated to it the Central Statistical Bureau, the Library of Parliament, the Government Printing Bureau and the Government Translation Bureau.[1]

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1. No information on the organization and work of this bureau is at present available (Ed.)

Appendix B

Internal Organization of Communes[1]

All communes have municipal Assemblies (known, respectively, as Communal in rural communes, and Town and City Assemblies in urban areas), elected by proportional vote for a period of four years by all residents of the commune over 21 years of age.

Communes have also municipal Councils (again known respectively as Communal, Town and City Councils) appointed by the municipal Assembly for a period of two years, with the exception of the chairman (the Mayor) who is appointed for four years.

The Communal Council must have at least five members in addition to the chairman and is usually composed of members of the Communal Assembly. If, however, a commune has a salaried Communal Director then he automatically becomes chairman of the Communal Court and Mayor. Most rural communes do not as yet have Communal Directors, but the trend appears to point toward an ever increasing use of their services. A Communal Director must be appointed by the Communal Assembly, but the Council of State may order a commune to appoint a Communal Director.

Similarly, towns must have at least a five-member council. But Town Councils differ from Communal Councils in that they must employ a salaried Town Director, who, ex officio, becomes both Mayor and Chairman of the Council.

1. See The Municipal Act, 27.8.1948. The Act consisting of 215 articles divided into 11 chapter provides a complete prescription for the organization and operation of all types of communes.

If a Town has one or several assistant Town Directors, then these have ex officio rights to membership on the Council, but in this case their membership is in addition to the stipulated five seats.

Both Communal (rural) and Town as well as City Councils may have any number of Boards of Commissioners or individual Commissioners responsible for particular services, such as social welfare, health control, road and sanitation services. These boards are appointed by the municipal Assembly and are subordinated to the municipal Council in their administrative powers.

The above constitutes a complete description of the main organs of administration in rural communes. Cities and larger Towns, however, have two additional organs of administration, namely the Municipal Chamber, which is divided into two parts: the Municipal Chamber proper and the court of first instance -- the Town Court. The Municipal Chamber proper is a collegial body consisting of a Burgomaster, appointed by the Supreme Court from among three candidates submitted by the Town Assembly, plus at least two aldermen elected by the Assembly and confirmed by the Provincial Authority. The Municipal Chamber proper acts as a municipal administrative court and general regulatory office. Its function can be compared to that of the Provincial Authority: it judges all matters concerning public order and town economy which lie outside the competence of the ordinary courts of first instance and it supervises the registry and collection of taxes within the Town or City Commune.

The Town Court consists of a magistrate and at least two associate magistrates appointed in the same way as the aldermen of the Municipal Chamber. In the Towns and smaller Cities the members of the Municipal Court also serve as members of the Town Court. In general it could be said that the Municipal Chamber is more of a central state organ than a municipal organ despite the fact that its members are paid by the commune.

Appendix C

A Theoretical Analysis of the Rights of the Finnish Citizen In Relation to the Language Laws

The Anglo-Saxon community has never felt impelled to clarify the exact relationship between the citizen and his state. The European countries, by contrast, have been very much concerned with the precise nature of "rights", "duties" and "obligations". Finland is no exception. In our discussion of the language laws as they affect Finnish citizens, the requirements of clarity and conciseness have removed much of the subtlety (and confusion) existing in the law's treatment of this matter.

Clearly, the cardinal principle in the language legislation is that of Chapter II, Article 3 of the 1922 Act, which provides every citizen with the right to use his mother tongue when a party before a court of law or administrative authorities. This we have termed the basic right. As it is personal to every Finnish citizen, it might also be known as a subjective right.

There exist no more such basic rights, guaranteed to every citizen alike. Any further considerations a Finn might receive at the hands of the state are based on the language districting principle, under which the state is only obliged to provide certain services in the two languages after various conditions have been fulfilled.

It is not our intent to delve into the prickly question of whether an obligation presupposes a right, or vice versa. In actual fact, the working of the language districting system means that in certain circumstances a citizen may demand that his language be used. This cannot be termed a subjective right, as its legitimacy does not depend on whether the man is a citizen or not, but on other, administrative matters. It may aptly be called a procedural right, although the expression most frequently adopted is a reflexive right, that is, a right dependent or reflecting upon an obligation the state has imposed on itself.

Most of these reflexive rights are found in Chapter III of the Language Act, which is entitled "On the language of the party concerned and the language of the documents".[1] This heading more than illustrates the confusion existing between basic and reflexive rights in Finland. As Professor Merikoski argues, the two things indicated in the title are so interdependent as to be inseparable. Yet, the "language of the party concerned" refers primarily to the basic right of the citizen to use his own language, whereas the "language of the documents" appears to refer to an obligation upon the state. "In actual fact, however, the right to receive documents in a specified language must be regarded as

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1. Other obligations of the state and rights reflexive of these rights are found in Chapters II and IV of the Act.

the right to use one's own language before the authorities."[1] Thus the right to receive documents in one's own mother tongue is not only a reflexive right of the obligation imposed upon the state, but in operation becomes a subjective right of the citizen.

Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that all these "reflexive rights of the obligation imposed on the state" are in fact dependent on the obligations of the state: the obligations of the state come first. Only when the state fulfils its obligations is it possible for the 'dependent subjective rights' to operate and be fulfilled.

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1. V. Merikoski, "The Realization of the Equality of the National Languages in Finland" Democracy In Finland, (Helsinki, 1960), p. 84.

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Toivo Miljan

February 1966

EDUCATION IN FINLAND

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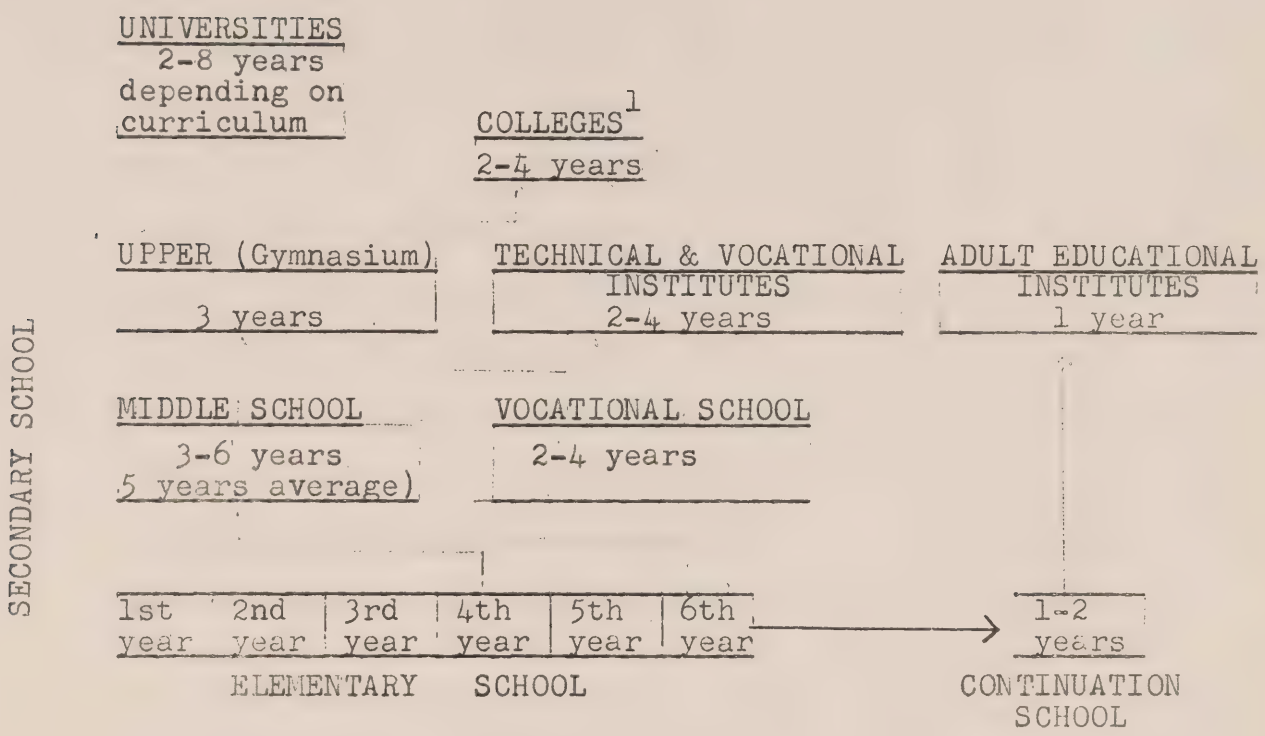
STRUCTURE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Finland has a unified educational system, controlled by the central authority of the state, although the direction of individual schools is left in varying degrees to the authorities of the Commune within which the school is located, in the case of regular primary and secondary schools. Control of the vocational school system, however, does not lie with the Communes, but is given to several Government Departments, who may exercise anything from complete to very loose supervision. The degree of control and direction varies at the level of higher education -- from the virtual, constitutionally regulated independence of the University of Helsinki, through the various private universities, to the almost complete state control and direction of the Teachers College at Jyväskylä.

State control and direction of regular primary and secondary schools is exercised by the Board of Schools, a central state authority in the Ministry of Education. Vocational schools, on the other hand, are run and supervised by various Ministries and central state authorities but mainly by the Ministry for Trade and Industry and the Board of Agriculture. Universities and colleges are the responsibility of the Ministry of Education itself.

Structurally, the entire system, though diversified in control, operates as a unit with interrelated student streaming. As Table I shows,

TABLE I



the school system is divided into three main levels: primary, secondary and higher. From the primary level the student may, depending on his academic and intellectual qualifications, proceed to the regular secondary school, (the academic stream) or to the vocational schools, where

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1. Non-degree granting Institutes of Higher Learning (Teachers Colleges, Technical Institutes, etc.)

he is introduced to specialized vocational training. From the lower secondary level, (Middle School) the student in the academic stream continues to the upper secondary level (Gymnasium) and thence to university, or, if his inclinations and/or abilities so indicate the student may transfer from different forms of the lower secondary (Academic) level to the Technical and Vocational Institutes where he will learn a trade in a terminal course.[1] Students at the lower vocational level may either take a terminal course or proceed to the upper technical and vocational level. Yet a further special stream of adult education exists with the provision of Adult Educational Institutes for those students who have dropped out of school after the school leaving age has been attained, yet wish to continue their studies. The Adult Educational Institutes provide part-time education after working hours and in short six-month winter courses.

Additional special schools, largely outside the regular school system as outlined, exist and provide for the specialized needs of crippled, deaf, mute and chronically-ill students. By and large, however, these schools are resorted to only in extreme cases, for most children with defects (physical and/or mental) are kept in the regular systems as long as possible primarily to teach them to live in the society of others.

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1. In certain cases students may continue, after the completion of the terminal course, to the non-degree granting Institutes.

It must be noted further that, though the primary and secondary schools can be further subdivided into state, private and communal schools and the vocational schools into state and communal, these divisions do not reflect differentiation in teaching competency, teachers' salaries, religious affiliation or standards of education obtainable, or even in the control over the administration of schools. They merely refer to the ownership of the physical plant of the different schools and the degree of state direction in the operation of schools.

In the following sections we shall discuss the organization, administration, financing of schools, the teachers' tenure, responsibilities, and associations, and the curricula and other related problems at each of the different levels of education grouped under the titles of Primary, Secondary, Vocational and Higher Education.

A. PRIMARY EDUCATION

1. Compulsory School Attendance

Compulsory school attendance dates from 1686 when the Church Law of Sweden-Finland decreed that all subjects of the King should learn to read and memorize a large number of religious texts. Despite severe penalties imposed on those not fulfilling the demands of the decree, (e.g., illiterates were not allowed to marry) the law accomplished little in the educational sense beyond spreading literacy. When attempts at enforcing a higher standard of education

were made during the period of Autonomy, the Czar did not look with favour upon the already comparatively high standard of the people's education and refused to sanction further laws. Consequently it was not until the period of Independence that an effective and modern School Attendance Act was passed.[1] This act requires all children to attend school from the autumn term of the year in which they reach the age of seven until the end of the spring term of the year in which they reach the age of sixteen -- a total of nine years. Alternatively the student satisfies attendance requirements by completing the eighth year of the Elementary School (the Continuation School).

2. Organization

The elementary school system is divided into three stages: (1) the primary school proper of six years; (2) the primary continuation school of two years (which period may be limited to one year under certain circumstances); and, (3) further instruction beyond the eight years on a voluntary basis without time limit.

Most elementary schools in Finland are rather small, particularly in the rural areas where strenuous efforts are being made to ensure that most children have a school within five kilometers (approximately three miles). With this in mind communes are required to divide their territorial areas into elementary school districts and are

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1. August 1, 1921.

further required to establish a school wherever there are at least 27 pupils in such an area (or 20 in a sparsely populated, or island community). Communes are not permitted to close a school unless the number of pupils falls below 15 for three consecutive years.[1] As a result there is a large number of small schools, having only one or two teachers, which cannot provide a thorough primary education at the continuation stage. The continuation stage, in fact, is present only in larger rural schools and of course in most semi-urban and urban schools.

Primary stage streaming. All children attend at least four years of primary school, after which approximately one third are accepted into academic secondary school (on the basis of entrance examinations). The rest continue for two more years, whereupon some again are accepted into secondary schools (again on the basis of entrance examinations) but most of the rest go into vocational schools. Only a small number goes on in the continuation schools, and a very small minority takes advantage of the voluntary further instruction, which is given on a part-time basis.

In addition to the regular continuation schools there also exist municipal intermediate schools that are formally listed within the primary school system, although they are really a cross between the secondary and elementary system

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1. The figures, in areas with a minority population, for the establishment and maintenance of a minority school are 18 and 12 respectively (cf. Elementary School Act, 1957/247, Article 8).

in their educational level. These are the so-called citizens' schools[1] and are operated by the communes, as are all primary schools. They provide instruction in academic subjects in two streams, the three year stream and the five year stream. Entry to the three year stream is by examination after grade six; entry to the five year stream is also by examination, but after grade four. They are run primarily for the benefit of children who need state support and who cannot for some reason attend the regular academic secondary schools. The graduates may enter the upper secondary school (gymnasium) course provided they have taken the required subjects and are otherwise academically qualified.

The Elementary School System also includes the standard special schools for deaf-mute, blind and crippled children,[2] and sanatorium schools. Children with speech difficulties are given remedial help within the regular system in Helsinki, Tampere and Oulu. Further remedial speech therapy is given at the School for Advanced Educational Studies in Jynäskylä.

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1. They are also known in English translation as communal junior secondary schools. In rural communes and towns these are under the jurisdiction of the local primary school board. In cities they are superintended by the primary school directorate of the Board of Schools.
2. In 1961 there were six of the first kind, two of the second and one of the last.

Nature of elementary education. Elementary education at the lower levels (first four) concentrates on the usual academic subjects of reading, writing, arithmetic, history, language (mother-tongue) and geography. The next two years are largely a continuation of these subjects, but students so inclined may be guided into practical subjects as well, provided facilities are available. Since 1962, instruction in the second national language from grade five on has been compulsory.

With the Continuation School the emphasis changes and practical preparation for an occupation takes precedence, without the emphasis on vocational training given in vocational schools. The most important boys' subjects are farming, forestry, manual training, etc.; those for girls are household economics, home and child care, and needlework. Social science, literature, mathematics and the second national language provide the academic side. In this type of school, instruction must of course be provided in special streams. The Continuation Schools may be considered terminal, and a student has usually filled his compulsory period of school attendance by the time he graduates from the continuation primary school.

3. State Control and Local Administration

Although the administration of elementary education in all its phases is a communal responsibility, the State,

through the Board of Schools, retains control of the individual communal school administrations to an extensive degree. The degree of control depends upon the amount of State subsidy that a particular communal school board receives. Control is based on a division of the grants into maximum, minimum and optimum amounts. If the grant is too small then the State obliges the community to carry out the necessary improvements. In this case, the Board of Schools fixes the duties of the community, and the communal school in fact becomes a State institution,with the commune acting merely as an administrator for the State. Conversely when the State grant is too high, the Board of Schools must define the limits of activity allowed the communal school board and again the State becomes a director rather than merely a general supervisor. The optimum blend of State control and independent local administration occurs when the local board runs the system so well that its own resources plus the State grant comfortably cover the operating, planning and building expenses, without deficits or surpluses. It is entirely possible for a commune to remain within the optimum, for the State grants are not fixed grants but are based on an evaluation of needs by type of commune by the Board of Education.[1] These grants

1. Thus it is by local financial mismanagement rather than central direction that local school boards may temporarily lose their independence. The State may, of course, also impose direct central control for other reasons, such as continuous failure to meet State-fixed standards of education, or complaints of administrative mismanagement, etc.

range from 25% of operating expenditures received by urban boards to approximately 70% of expenditures (operating, building and other expenses) incurred by rural communal boards. Whereas the urban subsidy is a fixed percentage grant, the rural subsidy is made up of a number of specific grants, such as teachers' salaries paid directly by the State, two-thirds of expenses of school equipment, teaching materials and assistance given to pupils, and two-thirds of maintenance costs, etc. There are additional arrangements for the building and financing of new school plant, and again the rural grants are much more flexible and higher than the urban grants. The result is, of course, that rural school boards come under closer scrutiny and direction by the Board of Schools from an operational and administrative point of view than do urban school boards.

Structure of State control. In the first instance, then, the State controls the administration of the local communal school system through the Elementary School Department of the Board of Schools by means of financing and administrative regulation.[1]

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1. The Board of Schools has delegated certain more routin administrative duties to the Provincial Authorities, which now look after conflicts concerning differences over salaries between school boards and teachers, and are concerned with enjoining boards to establish new elementary schools and to build them, etc.

In the second instance, the State controls elementary education through the supervisory role of elementary school inspectors. Rural communities are divided into 48 inspection districts, each with one inspector. The urban communes have varying numbers of inspectors depending on the sizes of the communal school systems involved. The district of a rural inspector comprises, on an average, 130 schools and 570 teachers.[1]

Structure of local control. The school activity of the commune is conducted by the Elementary School Committee of at least five members, of whom five must be elected by the Communal Assembly and one of whom must be a teacher. In addition, each individual school is managed by an Elementary School Board of seven members, six of whom are elected by the Assembly of the Commune. The seventh member is appointed by the teachers to represent them.

4. The Elementary School Teacher

Training of teachers. The first training institution for elementary school teachers was established in 1863 in Jyväskylä. It operated as a co-educational four-year training school. While the Jyväskylä school advanced to

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1. It may be noted here that all administrative decisions made by administratively competent authorities, such as the Board of Schools or the Provincial Authority, or by the inspectors, may be appealed by those concerned to the Supreme Administrative Court.

senior college status and more recently to university status, other training schools were established in its original pattern. There are now eleven of these Teacher Training Seminaries. Students are admitted to these Seminaries on the basis of a competitive examination taken after graduation from the Middle School. Courses last for four years.

Elementary school teachers are also trained at four schools for Advanced Educational Studies in two-year courses. To these courses only students with senior matriculation are admitted, and again by competition examination.

Curricula of Teacher Training Schools. Students in Training Seminaries are trained both in elementary school subjects and methodology of teaching, psychology, ethics, school management, music and librarianship. Students in Schools of Advanced Educational Studies are taught "non-theoretical" subjects of the elementary school such as agriculture, physical training, drawing, music, handicrafts, etc., as well as the pedagogical subjects. Each Training School and School of Advanced Educational Studies has its own eight year elementary school where student teachers practice teaching for most of the last year of their programmes.

Upon graduation, elementary school teachers spend at least two years on probation, after which they can be granted a permanent appointment. However, during the probationary period teachers are required to pass an examination in school administration given by the local school inspector and another in youth work given by the leaders of summer courses organized by the Board of Schools.

The teacher's position. Teachers are given permanent appointment by Official Warrant, which means that they belong to the category of irremovable officials. Teachers can be dismissed by the Administrative Court only on the basis of a substantiated crime; or on the grounds of disablement.[1] The teachers' strong legal position originates from the period of the Russian hegemony when it was imperative that the schools be kept free from Russification attempts. This heritage has given the elementary school relatively great independence despite the strong controlling power that the state exercises over the system.

Teachers' associations. Elementary teachers are organized into two parallel unions: the Union of Finnish Elementary School Teachers and the Teachers' Swedish Association. Each publishes a journal, the former the Journal of Teachers (tr.) and the latter the Journal of the Elementary School.(tr.)

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1. See section on public officials in chapter on Public Service.

The activities of both teachers' unions are co-ordinated with the State Servants' Federation to which they belong, and which is so strong that in the Karjalainen cabinet (13.4.62 - 18.12.63) it had three non-party, non-parliamentary union representatives.

5. Swedish Elementary Schools

There is no difference in the organization of elementary educational facilities for Finnish and for Swedish-speaking children: the Swedish elementary school system is part of the whole elementary educational system. But state control over the Swedish schools is exercised through a different organ, parallel to the Finnish Department of Elementary Education, namely, the Swedish School Department.[1]

The financing of Swedish schools, for example, is the responsibility at the administrative level of the superior authority in the Board of Schools, but only on the advice of its subordinate Swedish School Department. The same situation prevails in the financing of Finnish-language schools where the parallel Finnish Department of Education tenders the advice.

Curricula are also standardized in the same manner: the limits of standards are laid down by the Central Board

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1. Naturally, the Inspectors of Swedish schools are also Swedish and report to the Swedish School Department.

of Schools on the advice and with the co-operation of both its subordinate Departments. Individual school districts and individual schools may vary curricula within these limits but there is only one set of limits and it applies equally to Swedish as to Finnish schools.

Naturally the Swedo-Finn interest in the fate of their schools is greater than that of the Finnish-speaking majority, but direct pressures on the Swedish Department are avoided by permitting the same latitude of local administrative decision making to both Finnish and Swedish schools (cf. supra, section 3), and by removing the Board of Schools from direct political control. Political matters are handled by the Department of Education, its minister in the cabinet and by Parliament. Thus the strong pressures of language politics that the Folkting periodically brings to bear on educational questions bypass the administrative machinery at the central level.

6. Statistical Comparison of Swedish with Finnish Elementary Education

Pupils. Table II shows a steady increase of pupils in Finnish-language elementary schools from 1909/10 on, whereas it shows a sizeable increase for the Swedish-language schools only for the period from 1909/10 to 1930/31. Thereafter, the latter's strength shows an overall tendency to decrease over the period 1930/31 to 1963/64. On a percentage basis, the proportion of Finnish-speaking pupils has increased steadily from 82.3 to 94.7 per cent over the total period 1909/10 to 1963/64. The corresponding decline among Swedish-speaking pupils has been equally steady. In both groups the change between 1920/21 and 1930/31 is the most pronounced. In this period the Swedish proportion declined from 13.3 to 9.1 per cent.

A comparison of the figures in Table II with Table III shows that up to 1930/31 the proportion of the Swedish pupil population exceeded that of the Swedo-Finn total population but that, from 1930/31 on, the proportion of Swedish pupils has declined markedly below the proportion of the Swedo-Finn population. Indeed, while the latter in 1960 stood at 7.4 per cent, the former reached only 5.9.

If we break down the total population figure by age cohorts (see Table IV), the Swedo-Finn superiority in this area is seen actually to have survived to a much later date. In 1950 the percentage of Swedish pupils was still 1.6 per cent above that for the Swedish 5-14 age group. By 1960, however, this margin had decreased to 0.1 per cent.

TABLE II

Finnish and Swedish Elementary Schools: Pupils, 1909/10 - 1962/63

Year	Total Pupils	Finnish	Swedish	By percentage Finnish	Swedish
1909/10	180,648	148,636	24,457	82.3	13.5
1920/21	268,784	223,155	35,903	86.7	13.3
1930/31	422,709	384,302	38,407	90.9	9.1
1939/40	425,844	389,854	35,990	91.5	8.5
1945/46	442,084	409,550	32,534	92.6	7.4
1950/51	489,934	455,134	34,800	92.9	7.1
1959/60	633,241	596,185	38,094	94.1	5.9
1962/63	596,114	563,894	32,220	94.6	5.4
1963/64	583,386	552,332	31,054	94.7	5.3

Sources: Annuaire Statistique de la Finlande, 1941; Table 177: ibid., 1951; Table 284: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1961; Table 317: ibid., 1963; Table 326: ibid., 1964; Table 326.

TABLE III

Swedo-Finn Population as Percentage of Total Population, 1900 - 1960

Year	Percentage
1900	12.9
1910	11.6
1920	11.0
1930	10.0
1940	9.6
1950	8.6
1960	7.4

TABLE IV

Finnish Population by Age Cohorts, 1950 and 1960

1950				1960			
Age	Total Population	Sw.	Finn.	Age	Total Population	Sw.	Finn.
5-14	100	5.5	94.5	5-14	100	5.8	94.2
15-24	100	7.4	92.6	10-19	100	6.6	93.4
				20-24	100	6.4	93.6

Source: Based on Tables VIII and VIIIa in Chapter 1 of this study; and on Official Statistics of Finland, 1950, Population Census, Vol. III.

The strong showing of the Swedish pupils in the earlier years can be reasonably explained both by the probable superiority of the Swedish schools and by the significance of the Swedish language in Finnish life. Also Finnish children in backward and remote areas of the country probably did not attend school for as long a period as did the children of the Swedish-speaking population, who were more likely to live in cities anyway, but who, if they did live in the country, would be more accessible for schooling as they were concentrated in the intensely cultivated rural south and southwest.

With the passing of the Compulsory School Attendance Act in 1921 and the intensification of the Finnization of all aspects of social, economic and political life, the share of the Swedish-speaking pupil population in the total elementary school system dropped drastically in the first ten years, from 13.3% in 1920/21 to 9.1% in 1930/31 (see Table II). The continuing decline thereafter may reasonably be explained by the decline in the Swedo-Finn birth rate and the continuing Finnization of Finnish life. The latter plus the post-war drive for longer school attendance (completion of seven years of elementary school or attendance until age 15) would account for the drop from 1.6 to 0.1 per cent in the margin of Swedish pupils over the Swedish 5-14 age group between 1950 and 1960.

Although we do not have age group statistics to substantiate the claim, it seems reasonable to suggest on the basis of the continuing decline in the ratio of Swedish pupils from 5.9 in 1959/60, through 5.4 in 1962/63 to 5.3 in 1963/64 (see Table II) that there may be a continuing trend among Swedish-

speaking parents in certain areas of the country to place their children in Finnish-language instead of Swedish-language schools in order to give their children an early start at mastering the dominant language of the country.

Schools. School statistics, broken down on a language and an urban/rural basis, are only obtainable from 1956/57 on. These, presented in Table V, show that, whereas there has been an increase of 145 urban Finnish-language schools in the seven years under review, the number of Swedish schools has only risen by 17. In the rural areas, the Swedo-Finn share of schools dropped from 8.2 to 7.7 per cent of the total.

TABLE V

Finnish and Swedish Elementary Schools:

Urban and Rural, 1956/57 - 1963/64

		Urban					Rural				
Year	Total	Total	Finn.	%	Sw.	%	Total	Finn.	%	Sw.	%
1956/57	6,504	301	251	83.3	50	16.7	6,203	5,688	91.8	515	8.2
1960/61	6,489	421	355	84.1	66	15.9	6,071	5,587	91.4	484	8.6
1963/64	6,287	463	396	85.5	67	14.5	5,824	5,379	92.3	445	7.7

Source: Statistical Yearbook, 1961; Tables 308, 310: ibid., 1964; Tables 318, 320. (Continuation schools are not included in the above figures.)

Thus the percentage of Swedish urban schools in 1963/64 was approximately double the Swedish share of the total population, although in the rural areas the number of Swedish

schools roughly paralleled the population ratio. In noting these proportions it must be kept in mind that the Swedish language schools are in general smaller than their Finnish equivalents.

The overall school picture shows a strong urbanizing trend in so far as the number of schools is concerned. Between 1956/57 and 1963/64 the increase in the urban schools totalled 162 (largely the result of the increase in the Finnish schools), whereas, simultaneously, there was a large drop of 209 in the rural schools. The latter drop is caused both by urbanization and by a policy of consolidation of as many of the single-teacher, rural schools as possible (see Table VI).

TABLE VI

Finnish and Swedish Elementary Schools: Single Teacher Schools in Rural Areas, 1956/57 - 1963/64

Year	Finnish		Swedish	
	Single teacher	Total	Single teacher	Total
1956/57	908	5,688	104	515
1960/61	626	5,587	92	484
1963/64	470	5,379	68	445

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1961; Table 310: ibid., 1964; Table 320.

Teachers and the Teacher/Pupil Ratic. Table VII shows an overall increase in the number of elementary school teachers between 1956/57 and 1962/63. The increase, corresponding to

the pupil increase, was largely confined to the Finnish teachers at Finnish-language schools, the Swedo-Finns accounting for but 88 of the total. Thus, the percentage share that Swedo-Finn teachers formed of the total teaching body decreased slightly from 8.0 to 7.6 per cent over this period.

TABLE VII

Finnish and Swedish Elementary Schools:

Teachers, 1956/57 - 1962/63

Year	Total	Finnish	%	Swedish	%
1956/57	24,729	22,748	92.0	1,981	8.0
1960/61	27,279	25,108	92.0	2,171	8.0
1962/63	27,206	25,137	92.4	2,069	7.6

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1961; Table 314: ibid., 1963; Table 324.

Between 1956/57 and 1962/63, the teacher/pupil ratio in Swedish schools dropped from 1/20 to 1/15, for, not only did the pupil population in these schools decline, but also the number of Swedish teachers actually increased by 88.

The decrease in the teacher/student ratio is, of course, also explained by the increase in Swedish urban schools during the same period and the consolidation of small rural schools (see tables VI and VII), where a number of single teachers in single-teacher schools were replaced by a larger number of teachers -- one per class -- plus specialist teachers.

The same process took place in the Finnish schools, but it was not as rapid because of the slower consolidation of rural schools and the very small overall decline in the pupil population of the Finnish schools. Nevertheless, the addition of 2,389 teachers over the total seven year period did substantially reduce the teacher/pupil ratio in Finnish schools.

TABLE VIII

Finnish and Swedish Elementary Schools:

Teacher/Pupil Ratios, 1956/57 - 1962/63

Year	Teachers		Pupils		Teacher/Pupils Ratio	
	Finn.	Sw.	Finn.	Sw.	Finn.	Sw.
1956/57	22,748	1,981	565,221	39,382	1/25	1/20
1960/61	25,108	2,171	590,325	35,643	1/24	1/16
1962/63	25,137	2,069	563,894	32,220	1/22	1/15

Table compiled from data in Tables II and VII.

Table IX, which shows the increase of elementary school teachers during the period under discussion, supports the arguments based on Tables VII and VIII. As can be seen the proportion of Swedish teachers qualifying for teaching certificates, already high at 10.5 per cent of the total in 1956/57 increased to 17.1 per cent in 1960/61, before slightly declining to 16.3 per cent in 1962/63. Simultaneously there has been, however, a steady, and in the last two year period, drastic, decline in the number of Finnish school teachers qualifying for certificates.

TABLE IX

Finnish and Swedish Teacher Training Schools, 1953/54-1962/63

School year	Teacher training schools			Teachers			Pupils		Qualif. as primary school teachers				
	Finnish	Swedish	Total	Finnish	Swedish	Total	Finnish	Swedish	Total	Sw	%	F	%
1953/54	9	2	11	154	27	181	2,045	270	627	67	10.7	560	89.3
1956/57	9	2	11	157	30	187	1,931	248	523	55	10.5	468	89.5
1960/61	9	2	11	148	39	187	1,366	235	542	93	17.2	449	82.8
1962/63	9	2	11	164	35	199	1,452	207	349	57	16.3	292	83.7

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1963, Table 327.

B. THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. Organization

The present day Finnish secondary school is descended from a long line of cathedral and monastery schools training boys for the priesthood stretching back to the early part of the thirteenth century. It was not until the eighteenth century that these schools changed their character and began to educate potential government officials.

The present system was founded by the Act of Education of 1872 which divided the secondary schools into classical lyceums of eight years, so-called modern schools of two or five years, and girls' schools of four years. Progressively, the last of these were upgraded and by 1915 equalled the standard of the boys' classical lyceums. In 1914 all modern schools and most classical lyceums were transformed into eight year lyceums with two sides (language and mathematics), made up of five-year Middle Schools and three-year Gymnasiums. The separation of boys' and girls' education at the secondary level has largely been continued to the present day and lyceums are either divided by sex or have parallel classes for the different sexes.

In addition to the eight-year lyceums continuing from the fourth grade of the elementary school, in 1928 six-year lyceums based on the syllabus of the sixth grade of the elementary school were founded.

Secondary academic education is thus divided into two basic classes of schools, the one of eight years duration, based on the syllabus of the fourth grade of elementary school, and the other of six years, based on the syllabus of the sixth grade of elementary school. Within these classes, however, there exists a bewildering array of nine different types of schools. There is yet a third, marginal class of schools based on the incomplete Citizens five-year Middle School system.

2. Curricula

The curricula of the different types of schools vary greatly, although all full secondary schools prepare students for the final matriculation examinations. This great variety of curricula is the result of the independent and only partially controlled growth of secondary education. Again, as in the case of the independence of elementary school teachers, the period of Russian hegemony is largely responsible for this. Secondary schools were kept apart from central control and private schools were encouraged to keep Russification out of the schools. As a result, Finns were largely successful in stemming the Russian tide in the educational field.

The Czar and the Russian government succeeded only in imposing a rather heavy load of compulsory Russian language instruction on the Secondary Schools. The language burden was, of course, immediately reduced when Finland became a separate country but the independence of the secondary schools

continued, and it was not until 1941 that the government was able to impose uniform curricula for the different types of secondary schools. In particular the position of languages and practical subjects was improved.

The curricula vary from one type of school to another mainly in the emphasis and amount of time spent on different subjects. The classical lyceums, for example, do not have complete syllabuses for the Middle Level and concentrate exclusively on languages, with but a minimum of attention to mathematics and the sciences. Latin begins in Form II, German in Form III, and in the Gymnasium Greek, French or Russian are offered as alternatives. Psychology is compulsory, but at the gymnasium level neither biology bor geography is studied. The boys' lyceums are divided into two sides -- languages and mathematics, and thus have the most complete curricula, with alternatives of botany, zoology, and geography at the gymnasium level. But, in so far as the language side (and languages required in the mathematics side) are concerned the regulations governing the order of precedence in learning vary from school to school. In some schools German forms the first foreign language, while in others it is English.[1] The second may be any one of Latin, English, German or Russian; the third, French or English.

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1. Only in the Finnish Lyceum in Helsinki does French form the first foreign language.

In the Girls' lyceums the first foreign modern language is English or German, the second (beginning in fourth form) is German, Russian or English, and, on the language side of the gymnasium, Latin and French are usually offered as alternatives. In addition, each form on the latter side has only two periods a week of mathematics. On the mathematical side, however, there are four periods a week of mathematics and two periods of physics.

TABLE X

General Syllabus of Eight Year Lyceums: Number of Classes (45 minutes) Taken in Compulsory Subjects Per Week

Subject	Middle					Gymnasium						TOTALS	
						VI		VII		VIII			
	I	II	III	IV	V	Ling.side	Math.side	Ling.side	Math.side	Ling.side	Math.side	Ling.side	Math.side
Compulsory subjects:													
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16	16
Finnish	4	3	4	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	27	27
History, Sociology and National economy	-	2	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	4	4	22	22
Psychology and Philosophy	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
Botany, Zoology and Geography	6	3	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	27	27
Physics and Chemistry	-	-	-	4	4	-	3	-	3	-	3	8	17
Mathematics	5	4	4	4	4	3	5	3	5	3	5	30	36
Swedish	4	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	24	24
First foreign modern language (English, German or Russian)	-	5	5	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	28	28
Latin or second f.m.l. (English, German or Russian)	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	5	-	5	-	15	-
Third f.m.l. (French or English)	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	3	9	9
Physical training and Hygiene	4	3	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	29	29
Drawing, Moulding and Penmanship	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	18	18
Handicrafts	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6
Singing	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4
	32	32	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	33	-	-

Source: N. Kallio, Education in Finland (Helsinki, 1961). Table on p. 34.

3. Administration of Secondary Schools

Administratively secondary schools in Finland fall into two classes, State and private.[1] The latter are further subdivided into communally owned and privately owned schools.

State schools are owned and administered by the State, have their teachers appointed and paid by the State, etc. The Board of Schools represents the State in all matters concerning State secondary schools, except in matters of appeal against the decisions of the Board.

Private schools are owned and operated by school corporations, patrons' associations, by some private citizen or by communes. Administratively private schools are regulated by the Private Secondary School Act and Decree which contain provisions governing the establishment, administration, teaching staffs, diploma granting rights, State subsidies, etc., of these schools.

The administrative freedoms outlined in the Act are to some degree modified by two factors. First, the major part of private secondary school income is formed by State subventions. The State subvention is made up of a number of separate grants, subsidies and allowances: each term a fixed State grant prescribed for each regular class and parallel class is paid, a fixed grant is also paid per qualified teacher, as well as

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1. There is also a difference in the control of curricula of the two classes of schools: the curricula for each type of State owned schools was confirmed in 1941 by the Ministry of Education, whereas the curricula of privately owned schools are confirmed by the Board of Schools whenever changes are proposed.

for the different lines in the gymnasium. In addition the State pays from 40-60 per cent of the interest on loans, rents on school premises, and the overhead on heating, lighting and maintenance wages, plus 75 per cent of the pensions of superannuated teachers. The second factor that tends to reduce the independence of the private school is the very large number of them: in 1957 there were 272 private secondary schools as compared to 118 State secondary schools. Most of the former are located in smaller towns and rural areas where there are no State schools, (which tend to be concentrated in large population centres), and therefore they are smaller in size than the State schools, their total student population only exceeding that of the latter by about 20 per cent.

The general direction of the secondary schools is handled by the Board of Schools. Within this Board there are two Finnish language secondary school departments, one dealing principally with matters relating to State secondary schools, and the other with those relating to private secondary schools, foreign-language secondary schools, experimental schools at the secondary level, supervision of teaching and teacher training.

Swedish-language secondary schools -- private and State -- are handled by the same Swedish department that takes care of Swedish-language elementary schools.

A Teachers' Council serves the Board of Schools as an advisory body. Its members are appointed for a term of four years and it meets every other year for a period of up to five days. Its task is to give opinions in various matters as requested by the Board of Schools. Although it has no authority to make decisions it has, nevertheless, the right to make proposals to the Council of State or the Board of Schools on questions concerning education and instruction, or the economic and legal status of teachers.

The State secondary schools are controlled directly by the relevant department of the Board of Schools whereas private secondary schools are administered by their respective boards of directors which are responsible to both the person or the body maintaining the school and the relevant department of the Board of Schools.

In addition each State and private secondary school is required by law to have a parents' council to which the communal council of the commune in which the school is located appoints five members, each for a term of three years. It is the duty of the parents' council to maintain contact between the school and home and to follow carefully the activities of the school. The parents' council as well as the Board of Schools is entitled to take action in cases of complaint arising in matters of school administration and discipline. The parents' council is also obliged to respond to requests for reports from the Board of Schools on matters concerning the school.

The internal administration of a State secondary school is mainly the task of the principal who draws up the details of the organization of class work and sends them to the Board of Schools for approval. Each month he is also required to send a statement of expenses, and at the end of the year he is required to make an annual report to the Board of Schools. Private school principals are exempt from these duties but must instead satisfy the demands of the private contract with their maintaining person or boards.

Boards of directors of private schools are entrusted with most of the duties of internal administration (including finance) that are concentrated in the hands of the Board of Schools in the case of State schools. Nevertheless, these directors are required to present the Board of Schools with information on administration, curriculum, teachers, pupils and operative conditions of their schools, on demand. The most important of the above data are contained in the autumn communication, drawn up on an accepted formula, and in the annual report. Each private secondary school must also have its general operative, administrative and curricula regulations approved by the Board of Schools.[1]

The inspection of both private and State secondary schools is carried out under the Office of Supervision in the Board of Schools.[2]

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1. The communal secondary schools are governed by the same statutes and regulations as the private schools.

2. For detailed description of the inspectors' work and the organization and operation of inspection, see World Survey of Education, Vol. III: Secondary Education (Paris, UNESCO, 1961) pp. 467-468.

4. The Secondary School Teacher

Training. Secondary school teachers of theoretical subjects receive their fundamental theoretical training at Universities or at specialized colleges, such as the School for Teachers of Domestic Economy at Helsinki and the Sibelius Academy in Helsinki. After theoretical training future teachers have to practice for two terms at one of the six normal lyceums of the country.[1]

After this period of practical and theoretical training the prospective teacher has to pass an examination in teaching methods and the legislation of secondary schools.[2]

Appointment of Teachers. Regular teachers in state schools are appointed to different schools by the Board of Schools on the basis of applications but the applicant has the right to appeal to the Council of State against the appointment. The principal of a State school is appointed by the Board of Schools for a period of five years from among the school's regular teaching staff on the motion of the parents' committee, after the teaching staff has made its proposal to the latter.

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1. These are the Normal Lyceum of Helsinki, the "Girls'" Normal Lyceum of Helsinki, the Normal Lyceum of Jyvaskyla, the Normal Lyceum of Turku, the Normal Lyceum of Oulu, and the Swedish Normal Lyceum.

2. The above is a résumé of qualifications of secondary school teachers as fixed by the Act of 20.7.1948.

The teachers of private schools are elected by the boards of directors of the individual schools, and in certain cases the applicant has the right to appeal to the Board of Schools. The principal is similarly elected by the board of directors, but contrary to practice in the State schools, the vacancy has to be publicly announced.[1]

Teachers Associations. There are seven main associations of Secondary School teachers in Finland. The oldest of these is the Teachers' Association of Finland (established in 1863). Others include the Union of State School Teachers in Finland, the Association of Private School Teachers in Finland, the Union of Private Schools, the Association of New Education, the Swedish Secondary School Association in Finland, and the Union of Secondary School Teachers. All of these publish periodicals and annuals. In addition, there are many associations and local clubs for those teaching the same subject.

Despite the number of teachers' associations, union solidarity is strong and teachers have been able to take full advantage of the wage struggles of the strong union movement in Finland.

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1. See Appendix regarding remuneration of Teachers.

5. Swedish Secondary Schools

Swedish secondary schools come fully under the laws governing regular State and private Secondary Schools and operate precisely in the same way as these. The one difference between Swedish- and Finnish-language schools lies in the departmental control within the Board of Schools. Whereas Finnish schools are supervised either by the State secondary school department or the private school department, all Swedish schools -- State and private -- are controlled by the same Swedish department that also supervises the Swedish-language elementary schools. Inspectors of Swedish secondary schools, nevertheless, are directed by the Office of Supervision, which, however, operates with the co-operation of the different departments.

6. Statistical Comparison of Swedish and Finnish Secondary Education

Schools

As Table XI shows, the increase in Swedish-language schools between 1900/01 and 1962/63 has been slight, amounting to ten schools, or 24 per cent, whereas the increase in the number of Finnish language schools during the same period has been enormous, from 59 to 472 -- an increase of 413. It is then not surprising that the Swedish schools' share in the total of secondary schools has decreased steadily between these dates.

TABLE XI

Finnish and Swedish Secondary Schools, 1900/01 - 1962/63

Year	Total	Actual Schools		By percentage	
		Finnish	Swedish	Finnish	Swedish
1900/01	101	59	42	58.4	41.6
1910/11	145	98	47	77.6	32.4
1920/21	169	121	48	71.7	28.3
1930/31	232	185	47	79.7	20.3
1940/41	220	179	41	81.4	18.6
1950/51	338	289	49	85.5	14.5
1955/56	373	325	48	87.1	12.9
1960/61	474	424	50	89.5	10.5
1962/63	524	472	52	90.1	9.9

Sources: Annuaire Statistique de la Finlande, 1951; Table 297: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; Table 334.

A comparison of Table XI with Table III, however, shows that despite the large drop from 41.6 to 9.9 per cent in 63 years, the number of Swedish secondary schools has never yet decreased below the Swedo-Finn proportion of the total population. In 1960, for example, it was still 3.1 per cent higher.

The significantly sizeable share that Swedo-Finn youth has in the secondary schools is perhaps better demonstrated by a comparison of the age cohorts of secondary school students with data in Table XI. In 1950, of the 15-24 age group,[1] 7.4 per cent were Swedish-speaking, yet this small group was served in 1950/51 by 14.5 per cent of all secondary schools. By 1960 the Swedish share in the comparable age group had decreased to 7 per cent and their share of secondary schools to 10.5 per cent.

Pupils. Remarks similar to those concerning schools can also be made here. Between 1900/01 and 1962/63 the total population of Finnish language schools increased steadily by doubling between 1900/01 and 1920/21, then doubling again in ten years, and then again in the following twenty years. By comparison the pupil population of Swedish language schools doubled only in fifty years.

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1. The age cohort 15-24 is used for both 1950 and 1960 for comparative purposes since further breakdowns are not available for 1950. For 1960, however, the 10 to 19 age cohort is available and gives a much more accurate comparison to secondary school pupils since pupils usually enter between the ages of 10 and 12 and leave between 18 and 20. The data for this group show that 6.6 per cent are Swedish-speaking. The comparison of this percentage with the Swedish school proportion of total secondary schools in 1960/61 shows an even greater imbalance in favour of the Swedo-Finns than the 15-24 age cohort data indicates.

An examination of Tables XII and III shows, however, that the proportion of pupils at Swedish schools exceeded the population proportion of Swedo-Finns by a significant degree up to 1960/61. It is only in the three years 1960/61 to 1962/63 that the former figure has dropped within 0.1 per cent of the latter.[1]

TABLE XII

Finnish and Swedish Secondary Schools: Pupils, 1900/01 - 1962/63

Year	Total	Actual		By percentage	
		Finnish	Swedish	Finnish	Swedish
1900/01	14,698	9,068	5,630	61.7	38.3
1910/11	24,354	17,461	6,883	71.7	28.3
1920/21	32,448	23,359	9,089	72.0	28.0
1930/31	49,589	40,232	9,357	81.1	18.9
1940/41	56,302	47,969	8,333	85.2	14.8
1950/51	94,971	83,243	11,728	87.7	12.3
1955/56	134,075	120,148	13,927	89.6	10.4
1960/61	214,601	196,865	17,736	91.7	8.3
1962/63	239,608	221,527	18,081	92.5	7.5

Sources: Annuaire Statistique de la Finlande, 1951; Table 297: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; Table 334.

1. It is assumed that the Swedo-Finn share in the total population remained at 7.4 per cent for 1960 to 1963.

By a comparison between 1950 and 1960 of Swedish secondary school pupils to age cohorts (see Table IV), the difference between the student and age cohort (15-24 age group) percentages shows a decrease roughly comparable to the schools to age cohort comparison. While in 1950/51 the Swedish schools' share of secondary pupils was 12.3 per cent as compared to a 7.4 per cent Swedo-Finn share in the 15-24 age group, by 1960 these figures had decreased to 8.3 and 7 per cent respectively.

The gap between the two percentages has thus only closed slightly, and if we use the 10-19 age cohort for 1960, then the Swedo-Finn secondary school pupil proportion exceeded the age group share by 1.7 per cent.

Teachers. In 1962/63 there were almost eight times as many secondary school teachers as there were in 1900/01. Almost all of this was accounted for by teachers at Finnish schools, whose number rose from 734 to 10,840. The teachers at Swedish schools, on the other hand, merely doubled in 63 years, from 618 to 1123. A comparison of the proportion that teachers at Swedish secondary schools formed of the total teaching body with Table III shows again, as in the case of schools and pupils, that the Swedish teachers formed a markedly larger percentage of their profession than the Swedo-Finn share of the population would indicate. Even in 1962/63, when the pupil/Swedo-Finn population disproportion almost disappeared, the Swedish teachers held this area, being 2.0 per cent above the Swedo-Finn population figure.

TABLE XIII

Finnish and Swedish Secondary Schools: Teachers

1900/01 - 1962/63

Year	Total	Actual		By percentage	
		Finnish	Swedish	Finnish	Swedish
1900/01	1,352	734	618	54.3	45.7
1910/11	1,957	1,263	694	64.5	35.5
1920/21	2,480	1,706	774	68.8	31.2
1930/31	3,243	2,443	800	75.3	24.7
1940/41	3,285	2,582	703	78.6	21.4
1950/51	5,558	4,646	912	83.6	16.4
1955/56	6,863	5,919	944	86.2	13.8
1960/61	10,450	9,355	1,095	89.5	10.5
1962/63	11,963	10,840	1,123	90.6	9.4

Sources: Annuaire Statistique de la Finlande, 1951; Table 297: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; Table 334.

Teacher/Pupil Ratio. Table XIV shows the advantages in the teacher/pupil ratio that the Swedish language schools have enjoyed over the Finnish language schools from the beginning of the period under review (1900/01 - 1962/63). The Swedish schools consistently enjoyed a more favourable ratio than the Finnish schools, having by and large four or five fewer pupils per teacher.

TABLE XIV

Finnish and Swedish Secondary Schools: Teacher/Pupil Ratios, 1900/01 - 1962/63

Year	Teachers		Pupils		Teacher/Pupil Ratios	
	Fin.	Sw.	Fin.	Sw.	Fin.	Sw.
1900/01	734	618	9,668	5,630	1/12	1/9
1910/11	1,263	694	17,461	6,883	1/13	1/8
1920/21	1,706	774	23,359	9,089	1/14	1/11
1930/31	2,443	800	40,232	9,357	1/17	1/12
1940/41	2,582	703	47,969	8,333	1/18	1/12
1950/51	4,646	912	83,243	11,728	1/17	1/13
1955/56	5,919	944	120,148	13,927	1/20	1/16
1960/61	9,355	1,095	196,865	17,736	1/21	1/16
1962/63	10,840	1,123	221,527	18,081	1/21	1/16

Table compiled from data in Tables XII and XIII supra

Conclusions. A comparative analysis of Tables XI, XII and XIII with Table III shows that the Swedo-Finn share and influence at the secondary school level in 1900 far outweighed its indicated share and influence as shown by its share of the population. In 1900 its actual share and influence was roughly triple its indicated share and influence. What is more amazing still is that though the actual share and influence dropped considerably between 1900 and 1920, it was nevertheless still roughly double its indicated share and influence in 1940, when the language strife of the 1920s and 1930s ended. That

the decrease in the actual share has been more rapid in the period since the "settlement" of the language crisis than before is perhaps surprising, but entirely in line with the overall Finnization concept in Finnish society. Both Finnish-speaking Finns and Swedish-speaking Finns have accepted, since the "settlement", Finnish as the main and more important language in Finland and have consequently proceeded accordingly. This factor is most evident, of course, in Table XII that shows the percentage of pupils attending school by language.

C. VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Vocational education has existed in Finland since the guilds began to get a firm footing and the principle of apprenticeship made its appearance. But it was not until the mid-nineteenth century when the industrial revolution necessitated changes in the rigid and antiquated medieval guild system of vocational training that modern vocational education was ushered in. In 1842, 1847 and 1858, for example, provisions for "Sunday evening technical schools" to train foremen were found in a number of laws. Simultaneously, in 1847, three technical modern schools were instituted in Helsinki, Turku and Vaasa; and in 1867 mobile handicraft schools for men and women were founded. These are but examples of the beginnings of vocational education in Finland. There were many other types of schools instituted, revised and re-instituted during the nineteenth century. Revisions have continued to the present day as Finland has sought to bring the different types of schools into a uniform and interrelated school system, embracing academic secondary, vocational and elementary schools, the purpose of the last of these being to act as a common foundation for the other two. Complete success has not yet been achieved in this area, for the vocational schools are still under the control of diverse ministries and not of the Board of Schools, and the system as a whole still has school types that can only be classed in a special category. It is perhaps because of the latter reason that it is hard to unify the school system in Finland,

for a school of horsebreeding can hardly be controlled and supervised by the regular Board of Schools in the same way as a regularly constituted lyceum - and there are many types of schools that are as specialized as the schools of horsebreeding.

1. Administration of Vocational Education

Administratively, vocational education is decentralized and control rests in the hands of various Ministries, among which the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has the lion's share, followed closely by the Board of Agriculture.

The former controls all Vocational Schools proper, and Technical and Commercial Schools. In addition it has control over Schools of Navigation. The Ministry looks after these different types of schools through a subordinate Department of Vocational Education, divided into separate Administrative Offices for vocational, technical, trade and navigation education. For the solution of questions of principle in vocational education, the Ministry has an advisory council, which is divided into three sections: technical and vocational education, commercial education, and navigation education.

The Board of Agriculture controls all agricultural, forestry and fishing schools, as well as schools of household economy, and domestic arts and crafts. The powers of this Board are exercised through three subordinate bureaus: the Department for Education, the Department for Domestic Economy and the Department for Domestic Arts and Crafts.

Certain trade schools for the handicapped within the

vocational system and training of personnel in the social services (nursing education) are supervised by the Ministry of Social Services.

Ownership. Vocational schools, like academic secondary schools, may be either State or privately (or communally) owned and operated. In 1951, for example, 12 of the 15 schools in the category of Technical Schools were State owned, whereas in the category of Vocational Schools only 4 of 102 schools were state owned. All the 63 Commercial Schools were privately owned, while all 7 Navigation Schools were State owned.[1] As in the case of the secondary schools controlled by the Board of Schools, ownership of the schools in the vocational educational field plays but a small rôle, if any, in their local administration and their educational function.

Guidelines are laid down by the respective controlling organs, and State support through subventions to the individual schools and direct grants to needy pupils keep the schools, whether State or private, at about the same financial and educational levels.

2. The Swedo-Finns and Vocational Education

a) General overview

As can be seen from Table XV, roughly one fifth of all

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1. Data taken from Vocational Education in Finland subordinated to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (Helsinki, 1952), p. 10. Mimeographed.

vocational schools offer Swedish-language instruction. Furthermore, this holds true of the proportion within the categories themselves. Although no information is available as to the breakdown of pupils in the vocational schools by mother

TABLE XV

Finnish and Swedish Vocational Schools, 1959/60[1]

	Finnish	Swedish	Total
Vocational Schools	97	19	116
Technical Schools	11	4	15
Commercial Schools	65	15	80
Special Schools	240	63	303
Totals	413	101	514

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963; and Skolor och Kurser för Yrkesutbildning (Helsingfors, 1959).

tongue, the number of schools operating for the benefit of Swedish-speaking pupils is impressive when compared to the numerical strength of the Swedo-Finns in Finland. In effect a minority of 7.4% is able to command approximately 20% of the separate training facilities in the vocational arena. Yet the Swedo-Finns are not content. Their main grievance relates

1. This is a very rough compilation since the types of schools listed in the two sources do not exactly correspond and neither precisely corresponds with the four classes employed in this study. No more precise data are at present (February 12, 1966) available.

to the difficulty of keeping their trained people in Finland. This they blame on two factors: (1) the higher wages and better job facilities offered in Sweden, and (2) the insufficient occupational training facilities in Finland. That this grievance is real and not fancied is demonstrated by the similar grievances also voiced by the Finnish-speaking Finns. The insufficiency of training facilities can be clearly shown by the number of applicants for places in nursing courses in 1959/60: of the total of 3,500 who applied, only 905 could be accepted in 15 institutions.[1] This example, the Finns (and Swedo-Finns) suggest, can be multiplied many times over and demonstrated to exist in almost all areas of occupational training. But the Swedo-Finns claim an additional problem that their Finnish-speaking compatriots are not faced with: whereas the Swedo-Finn speaks Swedish and can easily find a good job in any of the Scandinavian countries, the Finnish-speaking Finn has more difficulty with language and is more likely to stay in Finland. Adding to the problem of emigration of skilled labour as well as unskilled labour in search of skills, is the Labour Mobility Convention signed by all the members of the Nordic Council[2], which permits completely free movement of labour among them without loss of any social security benefits. So far Sweden has been and continues to be the recipient of this pool of labour from all of the other

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1. N. Kallio, op. cit., p. 61

2. The Convention was signed on May 25, 1954, by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

members of the Council.

Emigration also plays a role. During the period from 1941 to 1960, 32,878 Finns emigrated to Sweden.[1] Of these, approximately one third of those of working age were in the 25 - 34 age group, followed closely by the 15 - 24 age group. Emigration figures, however, do not tell the whole tale, for the Labour Convention has made it practically impossible to control labour movement to Sweden. As a result it is reported that approximately 80,000 non-immigrant Finns are currently working in Sweden. If even only 20 per cent of this total is Swedo-Finn (and indications are that it is much larger), the Swedo-Finn population, totalling only 330,538, has indeed suffered a serious loss.

b) Adult Education

A category of education that does not form part of the regular vocational system but that the Swedo-Finns, in particular are proud of, is Adult Education. Two types of schools operate in this area, the Adult Educational Institutes[2] and the Workers' Institutes. Both have a relatively long and honoured history of service in Finland. The former type was originally imported from Denmark in 1889 but has since come under the influence of the Swedish variant. The latter type

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1. Sweden was the country most favoured by Finnish emigrants during this period, followed by Canada, with 15,015.

2. Cf. the German Volkhochschule, the Swedish Folkhögskola and the Finnish Kansanopisto.

was imported from Sweden in 1899. Whereas the former type is found in the rural areas, the latter is primarily a school for young urban adults who have left school after the compulsory period of education yet feel the need for additional schooling.

The syllabus in the Adult Educational Institutes originally comprised the "arts and humanities" but has now been changed to emphasize practical and vocational subjects, such as agriculture and household science. In some Institutes courses in such specialized subjects as commercial correspondence and youth leadership are offered. It is also suggested that these Institutes offer courses which could, in a highly condensed time, permit drop-outs to acquire a Middle School level education.

The syllabus of the Workers' Institutes is highly flexible and serves the particular expressed interests of the students. Unlike Adult Educational Institutes the programme here is chosen to meet the cultural and vocational wishes and needs of the participants.

Whereas the course work of the Adult Educational Institutes is strictly concentrated within a six-month period of full-time study during the winter months, the work of the Workers' Institutes is leisurely and pursued in the evenings. Usually the period of study is spread over 26 weeks during the winter months, but students may spend years, and even decades, in furthering their interests and knowledge at these schools.

In 1961/62 there were 82 Adult Educational Institutions

of which 16 were Swedish in language, and 66 Finnish. Of the 115 Workers' Institutes, 16 were Swedish in language while 99 were Finnish. The total number of students in the former type was 6,446, of whom 716 were Swedish-speaking and 5,730 Finnish-speaking. In the latter type the total number of students was 74,405 of whom 9,642 were Swedish-speaking and 64,763 were Finnish-speaking. The growing urban ethos of Finland is clearly indicated by the absolute increase of students in the decade 1952/53 - 1961/62: the total number of Adult Educational Institutes (rural base) increased from 80 to 82, while the total number of Workers' Institutes (urban base) increased from 99 to 115. During the same period the student bodies increased from 4,779 to 6,446 and from 47,595 to 74,405 respectively. Among Swedo-Finns the trend is accentuated: the total number of Adult Educational Institutes decreased from 18 to 16 while the total number of students decreased from 776 to 716. In the Workers' Institutes the total number of Swedo-Finn institutions increased from 14 to 16 with a corresponding increase in the student body from 4,425 to 9,642. As can be seen from Table XVI the decrease of Swedo-Finn students in the rural schools was marginal, whereas their increase in the urban schools was more than double. At the same time the increase of Finnish-speaking students in the rural schools was marginal, while their increase in the cities exceeded 50 per cent.

TABLE XVI

Finnish and Swedish Adult Education and Workers Institutes, 1952/53 - 1961/62

	Finnish Institutes	Swedish Institutes	Totals	Finnish Students	Swedish Students	Totals
Adult Educational Institutes						
1952/53	62	18	80	4003	776	4779
1961/62	66	16	82	5730	716	6446
Workers Institutes						
1952/53	85	14	99	42670	4425	47095
1961/62	99	16	115	64763	9642	74405

Sources: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962; Table 323: ibid., 1963; Table 328

The reason that the Swedo-Finns point with pride to the adult educational arrangements described above is that it was largely as a result of the efforts of prominent Swedo-Finns, such as J.L. Rimberg and Professor J.E. Strömborg that the idea of adult education was originally brought over from Denmark in the late nineteenth century. Moreover Swedo-Finn "personalities" have not slackened in their interest in this area of education over the years. Such prominent Swedo-Finns as the poets Mörne and Tegengren, the academics Nordmann and Nikander and others have continued to make efforts on behalf of adult education among the Swedo-Finns. As can

be surmised from the involvement of the above-named individuals, the Swedo-Finns have in the past used these institutions to a far larger extent than the Finnish-speaking element to instil cultural pride in their young adult charges.

It is noteworthy that the Adult Educational Institutions and Workers' Institutes are privately owned and operated by interested groups and by co-operative organizations, but all receive grants from the State. The grants to Adult Educational Institutions cover about 70 per cent of their expenses.

Adult education in Finland is the only area of education that is relatively free of State supervision. Legislation exists to limit the type of institution eligible for State grants, but no State organ supervises their work, and no law prescribes their curricula.

The work of adult education is co-ordinated in Finland through two private associations, the Adult Educational Institute Association and the Union of Workers' Institutes.

D. HIGHER EDUCATION

1. General

Higher education in Finland is provided by Universities[1] and Higher Professional Schools.[2] There are at present four institutions of higher education that carry the title University -- the University of Helsinki, the University of Turku, the Åbo Academy, and the University of Oulu. In addition there are seven professional institutes of university level: the Jyväskyla University College of Pedagogics, the Institute of Technology, the Veterinary College, the Helsinki School of Economics, the Swedish School of Economics, the Turku School of Economics, and the School of Economics of Åbo Academy. There are then eleven university-level institutions in Finland. However, only four of these -- the Universities -- offer instruction in a wide range of disciplines, and only one -- the University of Helsinki -- offers instruction in the complete range of disciplines in the humanities, the social sciences, the natural sciences, the applied sciences, theology, law and medicine.

One University -- Åbo Academy -- and two university-level institutions -- the Swedish School of Economics (in Helsinki) and the School of Economics of Åbo Academy -- offer instruction in the Swedish language only. In addition, the University of

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1. Swedish - Universitet; Finnish - Yliopisto.
2. Swedish - Högskola; Finnish - Korkeakoulu.

Helsinki and the Institute of Technology provide certain parallel courses in both Finnish and Swedish, but it is not possible for a Swedish-speaking student to complete any degree-course without a knowledge of Finnish.

2. Swedish-language higher education

a) Instruction completely in Swedish

Of the three Swedish language institutes of higher learning, only Åbo Academy approaches the diversity of the Finnish universities in its curriculum. Students at Åbo are able to complete courses at all academic levels in five faculties: Humanities, Mathematics and Natural Science, Political Science, Chemistry and Technology, and Theology. The Swedish School of Economics in Helsinki and the School of Economics of Åbo Academy offer candidates (B.A.) and masters degrees in commerce and economics only.

As can be seen from Table XVII, during 1962/63, a total of 2,091 students attended the Swedish language institutions of higher learning as compared to 27,110[1] who attended Finnish-language institutions, of a total of 29,201 students attending the twelve institutions of higher learning in Finland.

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1. This and other global figures based on Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 338.

TABLE XVII

Swedish Institutes of Higher Learning: Faculty and Students, 1962/63

	Profs and Assoc. Prof.	Asst. Prof.	Lecturers	Other Faculty Members	Total Faculty Members	Total Students	1st Year Students
Åbo Academy	36	15	12	54	117	929	230
Swedish School of Economics	9	3	18	22	52	878	197
School of Economics of Åbo Academy	6	1	6	21	34	284	70
Total	51	19	36	97	203	2091	497

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1963, Table 338.

On a percentage basis, 7.2% of all students attended Swedish-language institutions. Of a total of 6,439 freshmen at all colleges, 497 attended the three Swedish-language institutions and 5,942 attended the nine Finnish-language institutions. On a percentage basis, 7.7% of all freshmen in 1962/63 attended Swedish-language institutions. In the same year, of the total of 2,770 faculty members at the twelve institutions, 203 or 7.3% taught at the three Swedish-language institutions. A break-down by rank of the faculty members would place 51 or 8.8% of this total of 574 Professors and Associate Professors at Swedish-language

institutions; of the 472 Assistant Professors only 19 or 4.0%; of the 173 Lecturers, 36 or 21.4% and, of the 1551 other faculty members, 97 or 6.3% taught at the three Swedish-language institutions of higher learning.

Thus, in 1962/63, 7.2% of all students at institutions of higher learning were in attendance at Swedish-language institutions and were taught in Swedish by 7.3% of all faculty members in Finland. These figures compare favourably with the figure of 7.4% that is the Swedo-Finn proportion of the total population[1] of Finland.[2] Noteworthy are the two classes of faculty members, Professors and Associate Professors, and Lecturers as these exceed the 7.4% Swedo-Finn population proportion, the former by 1.4% and the latter by 14%,[3] at the three Swedish-language institutions. The influence of the latter group is of course partially offset by the under-representation at the "other faculty members" group, where the teachers at the three private institutions make up only 6.3% of the total in that group.[4]

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1. A more useful comparison could be made with age cohorts, but these are not available for 1962/63.

2. Note that the figures of 7.2% and 7.3% do not include all students receiving education in Swedish or all teachers teaching in Swedish, for the University of Helsinki is by constitution a bilingual university with parallel chairs in the two languages. See infra. Section D. 2B(i).

3. For a true picture of both these figures the official Swedish chairs at the University of Helsinki and the other Swedish chair holder and Lecturer should be added. All the relevant data, however, one not yet available (Ed.).

4. Corresponding available data for the academic years 1960/61 and 1961/62, in addition to partial data for 1963/64, indicate that during these three years the percentages given by the data for 1962/63 are constant. Data prior to 1960/61 are not available. However, certain comparison

The above figures and percentages show then that a significant part of higher education -- corresponding to the proportion of Swedo-Finns in Finland -- rests in the private hands of the Swedo-Finns and is conducted entirely in the Swedish language.[1]

b) Instruction partially in Swedish

There are two institutions of higher learning offering instruction partially in the Swedish language. They are the University of Helsinki and the Institute of Technology. Both are state owned and maintained as compared to the other nine which, though supported by the state, are all privately owned.

(i) The University of Helsinki

The University of Helsinki, founded in 1640[2] and the oldest university in Finland, is also by far the largest. Its student body in 1962/63 totalled 14,361 and its faculty members 1,091, compared to the next largest, the University of Turku, which had 4,201 students and 455 faculty members. While the University has been regarded for centuries as the national seat of learning, it is only with the coming of Independence that the basic principle that it should be a bilingual institution was written in the Charter of the University. But even prior to this the principle of bilingualism had made some headway.

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1. See also section 2b(iii), infra regarding total Swedo-Finn share of higher education at all institutions.

2. The University was located at Åbo (Turku) until 1828 when it was moved to Helsinki (Helsingfors).

History of Bilingualism at the University. The University operated as a Swedish institution until 1809 when ultimate control over it was taken over by the Senate of Autonomous Finland. The University, however, was left to operate as an autonomous institution governed under a charter by a Chancellor and administered by the Great Consistory of Professors, the Small Consistory of Professors and the Rector.[1] As neither students nor professors shared much interest in the Finnish language the University continued to operate as a purely Swedish-language institution for over half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was not until 1851 that the first Chair of Finnish Language was established.[2] But it would be many years yet before lectures were given in Finnish in other subjects.[3]

In 1863 the agitation of the Fennomen and the direct influence of Snellman and the Czar's Language Ordinance of 1863 made it possible for lectures to be delivered in Finnish. However, the permission granted by the ordinance was little used and it was not until 1872 that a decree of the Senate, in response to the Fennoman political pressures, ordered all professors to be able at least to understand Finnish and that members of the Faculties of Law and Divinity know Finnish well

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1. This mode of administration has been retained to the present time.

2. The first incumbent was M.A. Castrén.

3. Indeed special permission was requested as late as 1858 for the first dissertation to be written in Finnish.

enough to speak it.[1]

The developments thus far in the language field at the University had been legislative (and had not been very well implemented), but from the 1870's on the forces at work came closer home and had a greater effect. The student body rapidly became Finnicized: whereas of the new matriculants in 1870 - 72 less than 10 per cent were Finnish, by 1879-1881 about one third were Finnish-speaking and by 1891-1893 over 50 per cent were Finnish-speaking. Clearly the faculty was powerless to oppose the force of the "uncultured language" any longer. In 1894 it had also become so much the vogue in political circles to know and speak Finnish that the "conservative" Senate was forced to decree that all professors be required to know both Swedish and Finnish, although the individual Professor was left the right to decide which language he was going to use in his lectures. Despite the resistance that this requirement met with, the conservative pro-Swedish faculty was defeated, and by 1900 it knew this in no uncertain terms, for in the years 1900-1902 the proportion of newly matriculated students whose main language was Finnish had increased to 56.6%.

As a consequence of this rapid rate of Swedish attrition,

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1. The former order resulted from a decree of 1851 which demanded that all civil servants show evidence of a satisfactory command of Finnish. The Faculty of Law which trained most of these civil servants established a chair in Finnish in the Faculty but was not able to fill this chair for many years since it could find no full-fledged jurist who was also a competent linguist. As a result, the knowledge of Finnish of neither law students nor civil servants was appreciably greater in 1865 than it had been in 1851.

the Great Consistory decided in 1906[1] to conform to the general pro-Finnish atmosphere of the day and to their students' requirements by making the University officially bilingual in all its academic functions. The 'official bilingualism' principle, however, while it was a great improvement over previous arrangements was too generalized and did not long satisfy the Finnish elements in the nation. With the coming of Independence new arrangements were called for and the Great Consistory set up a committee to inquire into the implementation of the 1906 principle in the different faculties. The committee's report, given in 1919, found that the regulations based on the 1906 principle were all too general to "bilingualize" effectively the University. On the basis of the report the University developed new principles and regulations which were proposed to Parliament for enactment.[2] The

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1. Note that this is the year in which the universal franchise and changes in representation, enacted in 1905, went into effect.

2. The Constitution Act of 1919 gives the University of Helsinki special constitutional status. Article 77 reads:

> The University of Helsinki shall retain its right of self-government.
>
> New regulations concerning the principles of the organization of the University shall be issued by law; but details concerning the University shall be regulated by decree. In both cases the Senate (Great Consistory) of the University must be previously consulted.

This means, in effect, that in all cases of legislative or administrative decision the University's (the Senate's) prior agreement is sought, e.g., even when the President appoints a Chancellor (Article 87, paragraph 2) the appointee is nominated by the University and only confirmed in office by Presidential decree.

proposals included the establishment, administratively, of two lines of instruction -- one Finnish and one Swedish. At the time of the proposition the lines would have been divided on the basis of 72 professorships and 6 associate professorships for the Finnish line and 29 professorships for the Swedish, in addition to 4 professorships and 8 associate professorships for the two lines combined.

Parliament did not accept the proposition and replaced it with another, worked out by Professor E.N.Setälä, that was finally enacted in 1923. The University of Helsinki Act of 1923 which officially reorganized the University as a bilingual institution was explicitly grounded on the fundamental concept that the University should be bilingual. The division into Finnish- and Swedish-language instruction was to be based on the proportion of students in each of these categories. The number of chairs in each of the two language categories was to be revised annually on the basis of the average number of students in each category during the three immediately preceding years. But since at the time there was still a shortage of Finnish-speaking professors, a number of chairs with responsibility to teach in both language areas, according to need, were established.

The University of Helsinki Act of 1923 satisfied neither the Swedo-Finn public nor the more radical elements among Finnish-speaking Finns. The latter agitated for a complete Finnization of the national university. This idea also

quickly fired the imagination of the Akateeminen Karjala-Seura[1] (Academic Karelian Society) which energetically set to work to bring about its desired result. By November 20, 1928, the Society had been able to persuade a sufficient number of students of the desirability of its objective that the curators[2] of all the Finnish student nations were able to hand over to the Council of State a petition signed by over 3,000 students[3] asking for the complete Finnization of the University. On the same day a protest march of students and a meeting at the Snellman statue served to underscore the seriousness of the situation.

To reduce dissension and grievances the Council of State immediately proposed the inclusion in the following year's budget of special subventions to permit the hiring of instructors

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1. This Society, organized in 1922 by students and younger faculty members, was the first of the post-war pro-Finnish, anti-Swedish, nationalist organizations. It was to play a significant role in the aitosuomalainen (Real-Finn) movement of the twenties and the thirties.

2. A curator (Swedish, kurator, Finnish, kuraattori) is a senior member (often a highly respected professor, judge or statesman), of a nation who has been elected by the nation to serve as its highest officer. He can be compared to an honorary president in Canada, except that in the case of the Finnish nations he has certain formal external obligations to perform, such as representing the nation to the University or the State. As a senior and highly respected member, he also has a great deal of influence in the nation.

3. Compare this to the student enrolment at Helsinki in 1930: 5,893, of whom 4,765 were Finnish-speaking and 1,128 were Swedish-speaking.

to assist students in courses where chair-holders did not have a sufficient command of Finnish to be able to lecture in that language. That the Council of State saw fit to continue these special subventions year after year from 1929 to 1944[1], serves to illustrate to at least some degree the legitimacy of the students' grievances, and to explain some of the dissatisfactions that caused struggles over language at the University during the whole of the 1930's.[2]

The 1928 student demands and demonstration were but a mild pretaste of the struggle that was to come. Speedily, the University's Great Consistory, the students, the Council of State, the political parties and Parliament, all became involved in the question of the Finnization of the University. The uproar of the thirties began modestly enough with the University's Great Consistory appointing a committee to prepare a report on the amendment of the University Act. The report was presented to the Council of State in 1930. In the same year fifty-four M.P.s presented a motion to Finnicize completely the University. The motion was defeated, but its supporters rallied and presented a similar motion

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1. By 1944 all chair-holders, except those holding designated Swedish-language chairs, lectured in Finnish.

2. The Language Peace Committee Report of 1944 gives a résumé of the struggle during this decade in eleven double-column pages. This study will not even attempt to give a précis of the Report's résumé but will merely touch on some of the more important developments. For further discussion see the report, Språkfredskommitténs Betänkande (Helsingfors, 1945), pp. 33-43.

in February 1932 which again was defeated, but served so to inflame the aitosuomalainen students that they decided to strike. The resulting strike lost its expected impact though, for the Mantsala anti-communist-inspired revolt, which broke out simultaneously, usurped public and official attention. The students, however, did not concede defeat but continued with vigour to pursue their cause. This vigour expressed itself in many ways throughout the thirties. Mass meetings, propositions, propaganda, strikes and public agitation were organized throughout the land.

Political parties had begun even earlier to include Finnization of the University as a plank in their programmes, but had not raised much ado about the matter prior to the thirties. The Agrarian Party, for example, had made the demand as early as 1914, but in a mild form which permitted some teaching in Swedish. In the 1932 programme, however, the party categorically demanded complete Finnization of the University. Other parties were more tolerant of the Swedish fact. The National Progressive Party, for example, in its 1929 programme merely demanded that arrangements be made so that all Finnish students would be able to receive their complete education in their own language, while Swedish-speaking students should be looked after to the extent that instruction be given in Swedish in the fundamental courses in the most important academic disciplines. Similarly, the National Union Party began the thirties with a plank demanding complete Finnization of the national University, but recommending provision of a

parallel institution for Swedish-speaking students. However, by the late thirties this liberalism had disappeared and the latter provision was dropped.

The Government took up the University question in 1933 with the intention of revising the University of Helsinki Act. Two plans were considered, the one based on the concept of language division and the other based on the possibility of removing Swedish-language instruction to another institution. The latter plan was abandoned after Åbo Academy had been approached but had refused to give up its status as a private university. Instead it was proposed that, in line with the first plan, a Swedish-language division be created at the University, to be named Helsingfors Högskola (Helsinki Academy) but so constituted that it would have nothing but the Chancellor in common with the University of Helsinki itself. This "bi-university" would have had 24 professorial and two associate chairs. The proposal was accepted and supported widely by both Swedo-Finns and Finns proper but was equally widely opposed. The Great Consistory of the University decided by a majority of one vote to reject the proposal, which even the Chancellor opposed. The motion was thus lost and the Government had to find a new proposition to resolve the situation. That produced in 1934 was also based on the language-line division principle. It proposed the establishment of a Swedish line with twenty-one chairs of which eight would be changeable to Finnish if the need arose. In addition all holders of Swedish chairs were

required to be able to speak enough Finnish that they could lecture in that language when necessity for this arose.[1] Finnish-speaking Professors, in contract, were not required to have any knowledge of Swedish at all.

The proposal of 1934 appealed to neither the Swedo-Finn public, nor the aitosuomalais students, nor the University. The Swedo-Finns gathered 154,188 signatures for a protest petition and Scandinavian academics supported them with a similar petition of 758 signatures. This was too much for the Akateeminen Karjala-Seura which retaliated with a petition of its own signed by 4,622 students. Thus by the time Parliament got around to discussing the proposition the country was in an uproar that extended to Parliament itself. Parliament was not able to deal with the matter during its fall sitting of the 1934 session and an extraordinary session had to be called on January 19, 1935, specifically for the purpose of handling the University question. Although this time the Government introduced a more liberal proposition, giving the Swedish line a total of twenty-one professorships of whom none would be required to teach in Finnish, and granting the students the right to write essays and examinations in their

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1. The faculty members of the Swedish line would have the right to confer together and decide on matters touching instruction in Swedish, financial matters concerning Swedish faculty members and students, and make recommendations concerning Swedish-language instruction.

own language, the Swedo-Finns were not satisfied; and because of the new liberalism of the Government the "Real Finns" (aitosuomalaiset) opposed the proposition, so that between the two opposing forces the motion was talked out. During the next two regular Parliamentary sessions, 1935 and 1936, two more attempts were made to resolve the question but each ended in defeat.

It was not until 1937 -- ten years after the matter first assumed serious and national proportions -- that a 'settlement', considered interim by both Swedes and Finns alike, was finally accepted by Parliament.[1] Again, neither the former nor the latter were happy about the 'settlement', but the former had more cause for complaint than before, for the new University of Helsinki Act of 18.6.1937 restricted the number of chairs in the Swedish line to fifteen.[2] As for non-chair-holding faculty members, their number in the different language-lines was to be decided annually on the basis of need. Further language regulations permitted students to use their own language in written as well as oral class-room tests and examinations

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1. The reason that a 'settlement' was possible at all at this time seems to lie in the new Government -- the first ever in which the Social Democrats had served in coalition, and the first time since the Tanner ministry in 1926-27 that they had participated in Government. The 1937 coalition, then, was of a new type, composed equally of Social Democrats and Agrarians, with two members from the Progressive Party (Liberal). Further, this Government commanded a powerful majority in Parliament.

2. In addition a Swedish lectureship in the Swedish language was also established.

in so far as the subject matter did not require otherwise. Other languages beyond the two national languages could be used as languages of instruction in subjects concerned with these languages. In addition, foreign (non-Finnish) teachers at the University could under certain conditions use other languages as language of instruction in non-language subjects. All language arrangements involving the curriculum were to be decided annually in the Small Consistory and confirmed by the Chancellor.

The official language of administration of the University was to be Finnish. Individuals, including faculty and students having business with the administration, however, had the right to state their case and receive depositions in their own language, Finnish or Swedish. In general, applicants for teaching positions at the University were required to be able to have "complete knowledge" of Finnish and be able to at least understand Swedish. In addition to a complete knowledge of Swedish, holders of Swedish chairs were required to be able to instruct and examine in Finnish. All assistants (i.e., those not holding chairs, docentships or lectureships) were required to have "good knowledge" of Finnish and to be able to understand Swedish.

In addition to complete knowledge of Swedish assistants to Swedish professors were also required to be able to teach and examine in Finnish.[1] The language knowledge required of

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1. Lecturers in foreign languages were excluded from these regulations.

the holder of the Swedish lectureship was to be governed by special regulations to be decided later, as were language requirements for certain other university staff appointments. Finally, the Chancellor was given the right to grant exemptions from the requirements during the first five years of the life of the Act.

Several Members of Parliament, both Swedish and Finnish, submitted detailed objections to the recommendations of the Grand Committee's report on the bill prior to the bill's enactment by Parliament.[1] In general, the Swedish reservations pointed to the braking action on Swedo-Finn scholarship as a result of fixing the number of Swedish chairs at fifteen and the consequent negation of the principle of satisfying students' academic needs, and to the complete lack of Swedish-language instruction in such important disciplines as geography, classis, classical, Germanic and Romance philology, and political studies as well as economics. It was also pointed out that the requirement that Swedish teachers also teach in Finnish would place such an additional load on them that research would suffer significantly and that the academic world would lose its attraction[2] for

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1. All bills, resolutions, motions, etc. must receive a positive recommendation from the Grand Committee before the final and third reading can take place. Reservations may be appended to the committees report by any members or group of members of the Committee. For the organization of the Committee, cf. Chapter on Institutions in this study, pp. C114.

2. Judging from the number of eminent Swedo-Finns whose academic and trade publications have been consulted in the course of this study, neither prophecy seems to have come true.

prospective highly qualified Swedo-Finns.[1]

Dissatisfied Finns, on the other hand, in general disapproved of the Act because it did not go far enough in removing the Swedish influence "root and branch" from the national University. The main reasons given for this desire of complete Finnization of the University were based on a highly nationalistic view of Finland as an integral Finnish national entity which had a sacred duty toward itself to preserve and to bring to full flower the unique Finnish national culture. This, of course, demanded the removal of foreign, - that is, Swedo-Finn - influences from the hearth of this culture, the national University. The Swedo-Finns would not thereby be excluded from education, for they had their own private institutions and, in any case, they were turning more and more toward their historic home, Sweden,[2] for cultural support.[3]

The Swedo-Finn community immediately began to make demands for changes reflecting the views of the Parliamentarians expressed above, but the main grievance and the main

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1. For a fuller account of the Swedo-Finn's viewpoint, see the Språkfredskommtténs Betänkande, pp. 41-42.

2. This was a fabrication on the part of rabid radical Finns. No evidence to support any such claim exists.

3. For a fuller account of the views of the Finnish radicals see the Språkfredskommitténs Betänkande, p. 42.

demand revolved around the number of Swedish professorships. Nothing, however, was done before 1939 and then two wars intervened. The result of the brief Winter War of 1939-40 and the long Continuation War of 1941-44, fought first against the Soviet Union and later against Germany, appears to have been a rewelding of the pan-Finlandic spirit to a greater degree of unity or "one-ness" than ever in Finnish history. This meant that the "nationalistic" view of "patriotism" that the Finnish speakers had equated during the twenties and thirties gave way to respect for Swedo-Finns as valiant co-defenders and compatriots of Finland. In brief, a wave of "Finlandism" replaced aitosuomalaisuus and toleration replaced hatred in the language question. The first concrete expression of this was the liberalization of the language clauses in the University of Helsinki Act in 1947 and 1948.[1] The revisions of the Act (discussed below) at once satisfied the Swedo-Finns and in contrast to a scant decade earlier did not raise even a murmur of protest from the Finnish speakers. The

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1. A solution to the University question was advanced by the Language Peace Committee Report, in 1944, (cf. pp. 95-102) which, however, was supplanted a year later by new proposals developed by the Great Consistory of the University. These were largely accepted by the Government, presented to Parliament as a proposition, and finally enacted in 1947 after a certain amount of legal quibbling in the Consitutional Committee of Parliament. Additional changes, not included in 1947, were added in 1948. For a brief résumé of the developments between 1944 and 1948, see H. Dahl, Finlands Svenskar (Helsingfor, 1956), columns 553-556.

situation has continued apparently stable since then.[1]

Statutory language provisions presently in force.[2] The main and most important of the revisions of 1947 and 1948 concerned Swedish professorships. There are now 23 Swedish chairs (none of which can be changed from one subject to another) supported by the University.[3] Any number of additional Swedish chairs, both State-supported and privately supported, can be established through a simple Presidential decree.[4]

At the administrative level the Swedish professors were given an important influence in the day to day administration of the University: two new posts -- pro-rectors -- to assist

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1. I.e., on the surface there is calm and stability. But there are indications that research into attitudes at different levels of the University community and of society would show a certain degree of continuing unrest among both Finnish and Swedish speakers. (At present we have no data to substantiate this opinion - Ed.).

2. There were three separate laws passed:
   1. Act concerning language of instruction at the University of Helsinki and the language of knowledge demanded of holders of chairs and appointments, 31.5.1947/453;
   2. An amendment (revision of Article 2) of this Act, 31.10.1952/364;
   3. Amendments to University of Helsinki Act, 1948/583.

3. These are: public law, civil law, criminal law, legal procedure, anatomy, pathology, internal medicine, surgery, pediatrics, nordic philology, Swedish literature, philosophy, history, didactics, political science, economics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, zoology, agricultural economics and forestry technology.

4. Previously the institution of new Swedish chairs had required an amendment of the Statute.

the rector were created, one of whom is to be elected from among the holders of the Swedish chairs.

As far as the language knowledge demanded of holders of chairs or for faculty appointments was concerned, the 1937 requirements[1] were not altered.[2] What was changed was the requirement that any chair-holder could be required, with his consent, in time of need to teach up to half of a course in the language which is not his usual language of instruction. For this he shall have the right to demand extra payment, as determined by decree.[3] Furthermore all professorial assistants and instructors attached to Swedish chairs were required to teach only in Swedish.

But the most revolutionary change was the shift in attitude towards the Swedish language at the University. This crystallized in the basic language provision, Article 1 of the 1947 Act.

> In basic and preparatory courses both Finnish and Swedish language instruction shall be used; exceptions may be made with the consent of the faculties concerned if the number of those who desire instruction in the one or the other of the languages is small.[4]

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1. The requirement that Swedish Professors be used to assist Finnish Professors in the same subject in examinations tests or other written exercises was retained. But in contrast to 1937, in 1947 he can only be required to do so if his own work does not suffer. Cf. Article 3 of the 1947 Act.

2. Cf. above, pp. B71-73.

3. Act 31.5.1947/453, Article 4.

4. Free translation by the author.

This basic provision permitted the declaration in the 1948 amendments to the University of Helsinki Act that

> The languages of instruction and examination of the University are Finnish and Swedish....[1]

These two provisions mean that students have the right to be taught in their own language, but even when this proves impossible for administrative reasons or from the point of view of efficiency, they still have the absolute right to use either Finnish or Swedish in "both oral and written exercises and tests." Teachers are further required to use the students' language as far as is possible in oral tests and private instruction.[2] In written tests, the questions shall be posed in the language of the student,[3] whether this be Finnish or Swedish.[4]

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1. Decree amending the University of Helsinki Act 1948/383. The paragraph continues, "with the below mentioned exceptions". This last clause refers to the 23 Swedish chairs and five other categories of faculty members whose ordinary teaching language is Swedish, as well as faculty members holding teaching posts in languages other than the national languages. Cf. the Decree, Articles 71 and 74.
   A résumé of Article 71. The language of instruction of the following shall be Swedish:
   Paragraph 1 simply lists the 23 Swedish chairs and states that their language of instruction is Swedish;
   Paragraph 2. Professors whose language of instruction is stated as Swedish. These can be of two kinds: State supported or supported by private donations;
   Paragraph 3. Professors who agree to teach in the syllabus of the year in question particularly in Swedish;
   Paragraph 4. Personal extraordinary professors (Privat docent) and docents who in the syllabus of the year in question teach in Swedish;
   Paragraph 5. Assistants and instructors assisting Swedish-speaking Professors;
   Paragraph 6. Extraordinary teachers giving preparatory teaching to Swedish-speaking students.

Continued/

2. This apparently refers to private consultations between teachers and students.

3. The student is not restricted to his "mother-tongue". He may freely use either of the national languages.

4. Decree of 1948, Article 75.

The official administrative language of the University, however, remains Finnish,[1] except for specific cases concerning Swedish-speaking faculty members, students and student organizations. All three have the right to use Swedish and the University administration is required to correspond with them in Swedish. Professors have the right to use their instruction language, Swedish or Finnish, in the faculty and the consistory in both written and oral communication. Further, formal recognition of examination results is given to the student in the language-- Finnish or Swedish -- that he has used either exclusively or mainly[2] in the examination or examinations.

In more general terms, Article 78 adds to the language rights of students.

> Recognition of studies is given either in Finnish or Swedish in the language in which instruction is given. Matters concerning Swedish-language instruction in the University syllabus, information on stipends and bursaries are publicized also in Swedish.
>
> Information concerning Swedish-speaking students is given only in Swedish.
>
> The language to be used in the University library, its museums and other such institutions that are open to the public are governed by the Language Laws concerning similar institutions.

In summation, the 1947 and 1948 amendments to the University language laws gave the Swedo-Finns all they had desired for two decades. But they were not absolutely satisfied, at least at the political level, as is shown by the

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1. Article 76.

2. The above paragraph sums up Article 77.

reservation appended by the two Swedo-Finn members of the Constitution Committee. According to them three wishes remained unfulfilled:

(1) that the number of Swedish professorships should be increased by one -- a chair in agriculture;

(2) that the privat docents and the docents[1] should have the right to determine for themselves their language of instruction; and

(3) that communications given to all students should be given in both Finnish or Swedish.

These three desires, however, have to date not been met. Nevertheless, the Swedo-Finns have cause to be more than satisfied with the arrangements at the University of Helsinki as can be seen when these are viewed against a background of statistics.

Swedish Faculty and Students at Helsinki. On the basis of the roughly calculated[2] data in Table XVIII, it would appear that the Swedo-Finns, despite the steady proportional decrease

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1. A privat docent in Finland occupies the same position as his namesake in France or Germany. Docent is generally translated into English by the Finns as Assistant Professor.

2. So far we have not been able to track down more precise and/or official data. As it is, some of the data given in the sources cited for Table XVII are contradictory. In general the lower figures and/or percentages given for Swedish-speaking students have been used in calculating Table XVII. See also note to Table XVIII.

in the Swedish student-body over the past four decades, but particularly during the thirties, have managed not only to maintain but to acquire rights and privileges beyond what their declining position would indicate. That roughly 13 per cent of the student body should have the rights and

TABLE XVIII

Finnish and Swedish Students Attending the University of Helsinki, 1920 - 1961

Year	Total Students	Finnish-speaking		Swedish-speaking[1]	
		Total	Percentage	Total	Percentage
1920	2,712	2,014	74.3%	698	25.7%
1930	5,893	4,765	80.9%	1,128	19.1%
1937	6,736	5,729	85.1%	1,007	14.9%
1961	13,423	11,465	86.9%	1,958	13.1%

Sources: J.H. Wuorinen, Nationalism in Modern Finland (1932), p. 229; H. Dahl, Finlands Svenskar, columns 259-260; H. Toivola, Introduction to Finland (Helsinki, 1960), p. 265; and Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962, table 333.

privileges outlined in the language regulations of the University, and that the proportion of faculty members teaching exclusively or mainly in Swedish should have increased

1. The University distinguishes students linguistically on the basis of the language of the secondary school from which they graduated.

from 48 to 66 between 1938 and 1959[1] while the proportion of Swedish-speaking students at the University declined from approximately 14.9% (1937) to approximately 13.1% (1961), indicates the strength of the Swedo-Finn community, the acceptance of the Swedish "fact" by the Finns, and the high regard in which Swedo-Finns hold the University of Helsinki.

The latter point is of particular importance and deserves further treatment. While the private Swedish institutions in toto in 1961/62 catered to no more than 1857 students,[2] the University of Helsinki had an enrolment of 1958 Swedish-speaking students during the same year. But what is more important is the fact that the University's language regulations provide for a minimum of 23 Swedish chairs which equals approximately 10% of the total chairs (232) at Helsinki.

The reason for the strong Swedo-Finn interest in Helsinki and their relatively strong showing there is not difficult to find, for not only the Finnish speakers but also the Swedish speakers regard the University as the intellectual guardian of their respective cultures.

Having pointed out the positive side of Swedo-Finn achievements at the University, let us now look at the

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1. H. Toivola, op.cit., p. 265.
2. Statistical Yearbook of Finland 1962, Table 333.

negative side. Whereas in 1961/62 there was one Finnish chair for every 54.9 Finnish-speaking students there was only one Swedish chair for every 84 Swedish-speaking students. On a faculty-wide basis there was one Finnish-speaking teacher for every 11.8 Finnish-speaking students when there was only one Swedish teacher for every 29.7 Swedish students.

These figures, however, may be misleading for Swedish teachers are attached only to Swedish chairs, and Swedish chairs exist in only some faculties. It is not possible for a Swedish-speaking student to receive his entire under-graduate education in Swedish only, in any discipline. Therefore, on a faculty by faculty, and course by course examination it would probably appear that the Swedish chairs and teachers more than adequately covered their allotted areas. Indeed it is often suggested by Finnish students that the Swedish students are better off in many courses because there are fewer of them and the classes are consequently small, whereas the parallel Finnish classes or lectures are often oversubscribed. One isolated example may be used to express this view. In 1959/60, in a law course in which parallel Finnish and Swedish lectures were offered by two equally prominent law professors, the subscribing number of students in the Finnish class approached 180, while the total in the Swedish class was approximately 20. It was only natural then that those Finnish-speaking students whose understanding of Swedish was sufficiently good would flee the over-crowded lecture and join the Swedish lecture. Thus the actual attendance of the Swedish lecture averaged between 40 and 50 while the Finnish

lecture attendance dropped to 140 or 130.

Finally, it should be noted that no matter how thorough and extensive Swedish-language instruction may be at university, it is still necessary for a university graduate in Finland to speak good Finnish in his professional capacity, except in isolated cases, if he wishes to succeed in his chosen career. It is perhaps more because of the recognition of this fact than of their pride in Helsinki as a seat of Swedo-Finn learning that so many Swedo-Finn students are attracted to a University where they will be forced to live and work to some extent at least in the Finnish language and in a predominantly Finnish atmosphere.[1]

(ii) The Institute of Technology

The Institute of Technology is the only full-fledged degree-granting school of engineering in Finland. It too is a State institution and is also officially bilingual. The bilingualism here, however, is restricted largely to permission for students to use their mother tongues, Finnish or Swedish, in examinations and tests. There are also two Swedish-language chairs and two Swedish-language lectureships, but instruction in Swedish is restricted to one or two lecture-courses offered biennially in the Mechanical and Mining

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1. Naturally, certain other factors such as the lure of the big city (Helsinki is the only metropolis in Finland), and the fact that Helsinki University offers the only complete line of academic education may in some cases be equally significant.

Engineering departments. The number of Swedish-speaking students at the Institute has declined rapidly both in absolute and proportional terms in the past two decades. For example, whereas in 1948 there were approximately 300 Swedish-speaking students[1] at the Institute, by 1954/55 their numbers had declined to 202, when they made up only 9.8 percent[2] of the total student body.[3]

(iii) Final observations: Swedo-Finns at University

There are undoubtedly many Swedo-Finn faculty members and students both at Helsinki and the completely Finnish-language institutions. Unfortunately lack of data makes it impossible to estimate the exact percentage of Swedo-Finns receiving higher education, although we do know the number of Finns receiving higher education either completely in Swedish or partially in Swedish. The total of these in 1958 was approximately 3,800,[4] which means that about 14% at least of all students attending university in 1961/62 received some degree of instruction in Swedish. Since it is unlikely that

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1. Det Svenska Finland, p. 131

2. Dahl, op. cit., column 255.

3. Unfortunately no further information, official or informal is available. Therefore it is not possible to even guess at the reasons for the decline.

4. This figure is obtained by adding the total enrolments of the three Swedo-Finn private colleges and the figure of 1958 for the University of Helsinki. The Institute of Technology is excluded for lack of any data for the year in question.

many Finnish-speakers would willingly submit to instruction completely in the Swedish language[1] it is probable that the percentage approximates[2] the proportion of Swedo-Finns in higher education. If this figure may be taken as a reasonable approximation, then it is highly significant in that it is roughly double the proportion of Swedo-Finns in the total population (7.4%).[3] Using the 1960 age cohort data in Table (IV) for the 20-24 age group for more precise, but still not exact comparison we note that the number of Swedo-Finns at college or university is more than double their age cohort share of the population (6.4%).

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1. This assumption is based on the fact that the government found it necessary to provide assistance to students whose professors were not able to lecture in Finnish, during 1929-1944, and the fact that the atmosphere of life in Finland is overwhelmingly Finnish-language oriented.

2. The unknown factor of total number of Swedo-Finns at other Universities may of course alter this figure.

3. It would of course be interesting to compare these figures with comparable figures for earlier periods to discover whether the proportion of Swedo-Finns receiving education has decreased or increased.

APPENDIX

Teachers' Remuneration

Teachers are paid according to the grading scale for State employees; lower elementary school teachers are in pay grade 18, higher in 22, and those teaching in intermediate schools in 24. Secondary school teachers' salaries vary from the 25th to the 31st grade.

Teachers in both State and private schools are paid on the same scale. In the case of State school teachers, salaries are paid by the State and in the case of private schools by the boards of the individual schools.[1]

Teachers' work hours are fixed and vary according to the grades taught. But teachers are paid overtime for hours in excess of 30 hours a week. "Youth service" and headmastership merit extra remuneration. In addition, communes may decide to pay teachers higher salaries than those stipulated, provided they can be considered reasonable and economic from the standpoint of the school system as a whole

Sick leaves, pregnancy leaves and superannuation are provided for by special regulations and laws.

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1. Pensions are similarly the same for both and are similarly paid by different authorities, except that the State pays 75% of private school teachers' pensions.

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January, 1966

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

PART ONE - THE CONSTITUTION

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THE CONSTITUTION

1. The Character of the Constitution

Historically speaking, Finland has had ten different documents that are called either Constitutions or Forms of Government but are generally referred to as fundamental "constitutional" documents. The most important of these are the Forms of Government of 1634 and 1772, the Act of Union and Security of 1789 and the Constitution Act[1] of 1919. All except the last of these were enacted for the united kingdom of Sweden-Finland. During the period of Finnish autonomy under Russian hegemony, that is, between 1908 and 1918, apart from some minor, necessary changes, the constitutional forms of the previous union continued to operate. Only with the Declaration of Independence in 1918 did a revised and comprehensive constitution become necessary. This was enacted on July 7, 1919.

The Constitution of 1919 is based only partly on the long run of previous constitutional documents. It draws more directly on constitutional usage and convention as these had developed over the centuries, but particularly during the past century of autonomy. Despite its long heritage, it is not

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1. The Constitution Act is also referred to as the Form of Government.

a lengthy document, containing but 95 articles, divided into 11 Chapters. These 11 Chapters, nevertheless,define inclusively the principles of administrative, legislative, judicial and other public authority, and also the rights of Finnish citizens. Few of these enumerated principles are innovations. All are the result of a painstaking study of both past stated principle and past practice. Only insofar as past practice was not clearly stated in past documents is there innovation. Furthermore, these constitutional principles follow those stated and practiced in all Scandinavian countries and compare closely with British constitutional convention.

The constitution, although written and containing the fundamental principles by which the state and people of Finland live is, nevertheless, a highly flexible document. Flexibility is provided by two means: firstly, by frequently qualifying a stated principle with the phrase "unless otherwise provided by law", and, secondly, by a highly simplified method of amendment. The former is made possible only by the high regard in which the law is held in Finland. Indeed Finland and the Scandinavian countries are frequently described as having a "law-bound" society. That all law is codified and that these codes can only be made by Parliament and augmented by delegated executive decrees, undoubtedly reinforces this "law-boundedness". Law

cannot be made, only applied, by the courts. The courts must even request Parliament, under certain conditions, for interpretation of statutes. This, of course, makes for uniformity of law, since there is only one fountainhead, Parliament, while at the same time it produces rigidity in the law itself, for again, since it is made by one body, its principles will not be changed, except as necessary. In this connection it must be further pointed out, that the most noted characteristic of the Finnish people, sisu, inadequately translated as "stubborn fortitude", is combined with a great sense of the practical, which again makes i flexibility and stability.

Only once, under duress from abroad, when the continued existence of the state was at stake, was the flexibility of the constitution stretched beyond the base of national "law-boundedness This was when the wartime President and members of the Council of State were prosecuted under ex post facto laws and convicted by a specially constituted court for alleged war crimes.[1]

Constitutional amendment, the second instrument of flexibility, also has an important bearing on the first means of flexibility, for all laws are divided into those having stated constitutional force and those touching on such laws by amending,

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1. As the Finnish state again gained confidence in its ability to withstand foreign pressures it abolished these laws and courts, and pardoned the convicted prisoners.

interpreting or trenching on them; or into ordinary laws. The procedure for enacting the former type is simple, yet time-consuming, for it demands the passing of the bill in question in two successive Parliaments, with at least a two-thirds majority.[1] But, in typical Finnish fashion, further flexibility is provided even here by permitting a quicker passage under certain circumstances. If necessary the "amending" bill can be passed by a two-thirds majority in one session of one Parliament provided that a five-sixths majority decides that the matter is urgent. Ordinary laws are, of course, enacted in the manner usual to Parliaments everywhere.

2. Language Provisions in the Constitution[2]

The Constitution Act of Finland contains a number of language provisions, found in five different articles (14, 22, 75, 50, 51). In addition, the Åland Self-Government Act in its entirety and Article 88 of the Parliament Act must be included among the constitutional language provisions, for both these acts have the force of Constitutional Law.

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1. See the Parliament Act of June 13, 1928, Article 67, which repeals the Parliament Act of 1906, and its amendments of 1917, 1918 and 1919. The Act itself is a Constitutional Law, that, like the Constitution Act, does not innovate but merely builds on previous Acts and constitutional convention.
2. In this section, only the language provisions found in Constitutional Laws will be discussed. The operative Language Laws are <u>not</u> Constitutional Laws.

The most important and fundamental provision of the constitutional language regulations is Article 14 of the Constitution Act:

> Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic.
>
> The right of Finnish citizens to use their mother tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and the administrative authorities, and to obtain from them documents in these languages, shall be guaranteed by law; care shall be taken that the rights of the Finnish-speaking population and the rights of the Swedish-speaking population of the country shall be promoted by the State upon an identical basis.
>
> The State shall provide for the intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking populations upon a similar basis.

The Article includes a number of related provisions of which the basic one is contained in the first paragraph. The declaration, "Finnish and Swedish shall be the national languages of the Republic", appears to place the two languages on an equal footing, which implies that the Swedish-speaking citizens do not form a national minority in the usual sense of a secondary or subordinate group. Indeed there are no provisions for "minority protection" -- except, perhaps, for the guarantees for the Swedish language found in the legislation providing provincial autonomy for Åland[1] -- despite the seeming acceptance of the

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1. Note that the population of the Åland Islands forms only approximately 7% of the total Swedo-Finn population, which in turn forms only 7.4% of the total population of Finland. Any legislation concerning Åland cannot be taken to include, or even trench on, legislation covering the total Swedo-Finn population. But then the Åland Islands, as will be shown later, stand somewhat apart from mainland Finland.

minority group concept in the second part of paragraph 2 and in paragraph 3, where the phrases "rights of the Swedish-speaking /Finnish-speaking/ population", and "intellectual and economic needs of the Finnish-speaking /Swedish-speaking/ population", appear. On first impression it would seem that the concept of a language minority group is advocated in these paragraphs and that the minority is given equal rights with the majority. But first impressions are sometimes misleading and a careful re-reading of the whole article shows that language equality is based on the individual citizen, rather than on the group. The first part of paragraph 2 reads, "The right of Finnish citizens[1] to use their mother tongue, whether Finnish or Swedish, before the courts and the administrative authorities, and to obtain from them documents in these languages shall be guaranteed by law...." This paragraph and paragrah 3 only guarantee that the rights of the individual, whether he belongs to the minority, the Swedish-speaking "population", or to the majority, the Finnish-speaking "population", shall be attended to equally, regardless of language.

True, this interpretation does not fully explain paragraph 3, for the wording of this paragraph creates a strong impression that more than provision of personal and individual "intellectual and economic needs" is intended. The paragraph appears to guarantee provision of equal state support for cultural propagation

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1. Underscored by Ed.

to the two language "populations", and, indeed, this has been the most frequent interpretation. However, no headway has been made in resolving the dilemma posed by the meaning in practical terms of this interpretation, and consequently the cultural needs of the Finnish population have been catered to on a fragmented, institutional basis, rather than on a concentrated, language group basis. That is to say, individual cultural institutions, such as theatres, orchestras, and youth activities, whether Finnish or Swedish in language, have been given financial help on the basis of their individual and particular needs rather than on the basis of any language-oriented policy. Professor Merikoski's remarks serve to clarify the confusion:[1]

> The language legislation provision that has proved the most puzzling has been Article 14, paragraph 3, in the Constitution Act. In various connections attempts have been made to explore and elucidate the actual content of the ruling that the cultural and economic needs of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking groups shall be met in accordance with equal principles. No generally accepted interpretation of this point has been arrived at, however, and its application has always taken place and will obviously continue to take place on the basis of ad hoc decisions for each case.[2]

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1. V. Merikoski, "The Realization of the Equality of the National Languages in Finland", in Democracy in Finland (Helsinki, 1960) p. 92.

2. One interviewee pointed out to me that the "ad hoc decision" interpretation was first laid down in the 1920's by Professor Erich, Finland's pre-eminent constitutional law expert and one of the drafters of the Constitution of 1919.

   From several interviews in Finland in 1963, Professor K.D. McRae understood the operation of the cultural clause to be a matter of normal politics. Yet one interviewee pointed out to him that "in cultural matters the language question does not mean very much." Cf. also chapter of this study on Arts, Letters and Mass Media, in Vol II

Two further provisions in the Constitution Act of particular practical importance, which build upon the foundation of paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 14, are Article 22 and paragraph 2 of Article 75. Article 22 states that laws and decrees as well as bills submitted by the Government to Parliament, and the replies recommendations, and other documents addressed by Parliament to the Government shall be drawn up in both Finnish and Swedish. Paragraph 2 of Article 75 provides that every conscript, unless he otherwise desires, shall if possible be enrolled in a military unit of which the rank and file speak his own mother tongue (Finnish or Swedish) and shall receive his training in that language. Language equality, however, does not extend to the language of command, for it is also stated explicitly that "Finnish shall be the language of command of the Armed Forces".

Articles 50 and 51 of the Constitution Act give the first constitutional glimmer of the operative basis of language equality outside Parliament. Paragraph 1 of Article 50 provides for the division of the territory of Finland into provinces, circuits and communes for administrative purposes; and paragraph 3 provides that this shall be done on a language basis as far as possible.

> In redrawing the boundaries of the administrative districts, it is to be observed that these shall, as far as circumstances permit, be so constituted as to contain populations speaking only one language, Finnish or Swedish, or to make their lingual minorities as small as possible.

Article 51 confirms the autonomous position of local government and appends the preceding article's principle of language division, thus ensuring administrative division on a language basis.

> The administration of the communes shall rest on the principle of local self-government as prescribed by special laws. The manner and extent of application of local autonomy to larger districts than communes shall also be regulated by law; the regulations contained in Article 50, paragraph 3, shall be followed in fixing the boundaries of these districts.

We see here then that the equality of language in the administration of the state at all levels is to be carried out on the basis of imposing a language division on the administrative division. The Constitution Act does not explain the way in which this principle is to be put into operation but a series of Language Laws, Decrees and Ordinances, beginning with the Language Act of 1922, explicitly define these rules and regulations of operation.[1] They are all specifically based on the fundamental principles found in the constitutional provisions cited above.

In the realm of Constitutional Law outside the Constitution Act itself, Article 88 of the Parliament Act -- expanding on Article 22 of the Constitution Act -- outlines with some precision

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1. For a general discussion of these, see section 3 below; for a detailed discussion of administrative language regulations and their operation, see the chapters on the Judiciary and on Public Administration.

the principles of language usage to be followed in Parliament.

> In the transaction of business in Parliament the Finnish or Swedish language shall be used.
>
> The opinions and reports of committees as well as the written proposals of the Speaker's Conference and of the Committee for the Secretariat should be drawn up in these two languages.
>
> Written communications addressed by the Government to Parliament should likewise be drawn up in Finnish and Swedish.

Also in the realm of Constitutional Law outside the Constitution Act, the Self-Government of Åland Act of 1951[1] provides for the safeguarding of the Swedish language. Though in many respects the Act exceeds the general language provisions of the Constitutional Act and approaches the question from the point of view of minority protection, it is nevertheless in essential accord with the constitutional principles of administrative and local language districting.[2]

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1. This is an amended version of the 1922 Act with the same title

2. For further discussion, see below, section 4.

The above cited provisions are the only language provisions that come within the purview of Constitutional Law; all other language regulations build on these constitutional provisions and are within the purview of ordinary law. As with all ordinary law these are in the complete control of Parliament or the President and Council of State.

In summary, we find that Finnish Constitutional Law states the principle of equality of the two languages and provides guarantees for their equality in Parliament. Constitutional Law further guarantees the right of the citizen to be informed of official actions of the state in his own language, the right to use unreservedly his own language in his contacts with all levels of the state administration, and the right to use his own language in the Armed Forces, as far as is feasible. Constitutional Law also provides for the group existence of the different languages by imposing language considerations on administrative territorial divisions at all levels, from the local self-government level to the central state, administrative level. It is vague on the protection and support of the cultural aspects of the two language groups except for one instance, Åland, where it goes to the extreme of providing what is in effect cultural, as well as language, autonomy to a very small minority of one of the language groups. Constitutional Law in Finland, it appears, by itself could not protect language rights beyond the level of the individual but

it does provide fundamental principles to follow in the building of a structure of language laws and regulations.

Although the constitutional principles of language protection appear to be drawn up with the primary end of protection of the individual, the objective of minority or group protection is not thereby excluded. Indeed, in the building of the structure of the language laws and regulations based on the language provisions in the constitution, the concept of group language protectio as implemented through the territoriality principle appears to take precedence over the object of protection of the individual.[1] The traditional concept of minority protection is, of course, taken care of by the special constitutional laws covering Åland.

3. General Overview of the Language Laws[2]

The Language Laws consist of the main Language Act of 1922, plus a number of Laws, Decrees and Ordinances[3], prescribing language regulations at different levels of the administrative

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1. Cf. chapter on Public Administration, section on Language Districting, supra, pp.A 111 - A 116.
2. In this section the Language Laws will be discussed in general terms only; for detailed discussion and explanation of the laws on particular points concerning Public Administration, Courts, Armed Forces, etc., see the relevant chapters.
3. There are three types of legislation in Finland:

   1. Laki - Statutes (Acts of Parliament)
   2. Asetus - Decrees (Enacted by President in Council)
   3. Valtioneuvoston Päätös - Ordinances (Enacted by the (Council of Ministers)

hierarchy, the rights of citizens, and the language usage of different administrative organs. The Language Act of 1922, as subsequently amended, defines the rules to be followed in applying the principle of language unity in administrative districting. It states the rules of external and internal language usage in the administrative machinery; and it sets down the basic language requirements demanded of state servants. In effect the fundamental Language Act consists of a series of principles and rules to be followed in language questions. It is in turn implemented by a number of subsequently enacted laws and language articles in specialized laws.

In defining the rules indicated above, the language legislation proceeds from one of the basic civil rights in Finland -- the right to be able to use one's mother tongue in any business with state authorities. This right covers not only individual citizens but also all communes, institutions, voluntary organizations, etc., that have a stated language of record. This right is guaranteed by demanding certain requirements in language usage or language knowledge of state authorities and of state servants. There are, however, no comparable requirements demanded of private organizations, such as business enterprises, voluntary organizations, institutions, etc., which have the right to decide themselves the language they wish to use.

The legislation proceeds from the universal assumption that citizens of both language groups should receive equal treatment as citizens. Consequently the central state authorities must have both Finnish and Swedish as external administrative languages in order to be able to deal justly and constitutionally with citizens, lower authorities and self-governing areas. The same regulations apply to the courts, communes[1] and local branches of central state authorities in areas designated as bilingual.

In bilingual areas all state or local authorities are required to make public announcements and publish documents concerning the public in general in both languages, precisely in the same way as the central authorities are required to publish all laws and regulations in both languages. The internal administrative language of an administrative authority is by law the language of the majority of the population of the district covered by that administrative authority.

In unilingual districts the above regulations cease to apply and all governmental transactions take place in the language of the district. But the basic principle of equal treatment for all citizens still applies. That means that it is still possible for a citizen speaking the other national language to turn to state authorities in unilingual districts in his own tongue. The authorities then handle the business of the citizen in the

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1. Communes, however, are exempted from some of the more stringent regulations. Cf. chapter on Public Administration, section 4.

language of the district but the citizen concerned has the right to demand a translation of the disposition[1] of the case. Unilingual communal authorities, however, are not required to accept business or hand out decisions in the other national language.

The Language Laws of 1922 explicitly define the rules governing language districting. For a commune (the basic administrative unit in Finland) to be declared bilingual, the minority language group must exceed 10% of the population of the commune. To ensure stability and discount the natural population fluctuations that occur there are two further regulations: a unilingual commune cannot be declared bilingual until the minority language group has risen to 12%, and a bilingual commune cannot be declared unilingual until the minority language group has declined below 8% of the population.

In 1962 one small but significant change was made in favour of bilingualism, namely, a bilingual commune or other self-governing district will not become unilingual unless the proportion of the minority language group declines below 8% or 5,000 persons, whichever is the lower. The Council of State is required to declare, on the basis of the listed rules, all communes and other self-governing areas as unilingual Finnish or Swedish, or bilingual.

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1. This includes all documents that the authority can or will transmit to the party concerned in the case in question. The term used in Swedish is expedition, and in Finnish toimituskirja Both correspond to the French expédition. The closest English equivalent is disposition.

The centres of Helsinki, Turku and Vaasa were originally declared to be perpetually bilingual, even if the proportion of the minority language group decreased below 8%. But as a result of the anti-Swedish atmosphere in the thirties, this proviso was repealed in 1935. In 1962, however, as a result of the more settled conditions of the post-war period, the 5,000 person rule was inserted specifically to ensure that Turku and other cities, where the percentage of Swedo-Finns had decreased close to 8%, but where there was, nevertheless, a significant and sizeable Swedo-Finn population, would remain legally bilingual for some time yet.[1]

The provisions of the Language Knowledge Required of State Servants Act of 1922, as subsequently amended, are also regarded as being part of the general Language Laws. This Act merely makes possible the fulfilment of the requirements of external and internal bilingualism of state authorities by defining degrees of language knowledge required of state servants at different levels of the hierarchy. Briefly, all those public service posts in bilingual areas requiring university graduation are declared bilingual and the appointee is required to be able to speak and write the language of the minority. In unilingual

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1. The change was adopted only after very strong and sustained pressure from Swedish forces in Parliament.

areas the graduate holder of a judicial office is required to be able to speak the other national language. Holders of all other graduate offices in unilingual areas are required merely to be able to understand the other national language. All office-holders who do not need to be university graduates merely must have a "sufficient" knowledge of the other national language, as provided from time to time by ordinances governing their jobs.[1]

The principle of equality of the two languages is further implemented by specific Laws and Decrees[2] and by articles covering language in specialized laws.[3]

It should be pointed out that the enactment of the basic rules found in the Laws of 1922 did not come about easily. Indeed it took all the time from 1919, when the Constitution Act was passed, until 1922 to produce rules acceptable to both Swedes and Finns. In the meantime a set of rules based on the language provisions of the Constitution Act governing language usage by state authorities and language requirements of state servants was enacted on 28.4.1921. However, since the Swedo-Finns took a strong dislike to this Act, even before it was passed the statute remained on the books only until the end of 1922.

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1. Cf. chapter on Public Service, section 5 on State Servants and Language.
2. For example, decrees (Asetuksia) concerning language examinations: 29.12.1922/313; 28.4.1923/113; 26.10.1956/54; and Composition of Examination Board 3.3.1923/82, etc.
3. Articles 9, 59, 61 of Kansankouluasetus /Elementary School Decree/ 23.7.1938/321 and Chapter 8 of Yliopiston Laki /Universities Act/ Articles 70-81, etc. For a detailed discussion of these and other laws see relevant chapters of this study.

For, simultaneously with its enactment in 1921, a committee of state was appointed to revise the law. The committee succeeded in reconciling the differences in outlook of the Swedes and Finns and presented a complete report in the same year. Subsequently a government proposition incorporating almost all the committee's recommendations was drawn up and enacted by Parliament in short order. It is suggested that the speed and thoroughness with which the rules were developed and codified depended not only on historic circumstances and precedents of past laws (still in effect), but also on the current international situation for Sweden at that moment was very much interested in the Åland Islands and was making representations to the League of Nations regarding the linguistic minority there. Anxiety on the part of the Finns to keep the islands spurred them on to grant corresponding "liberal" guarantees to mainland Swedo-Finns. Thus, it is suggested, the speedy enactment of the Language Laws in their liberal form was both a reaction to Åland separatism and also a move to forestall the League of Nations' interest in minorities as aroused by latent Swedish irredentism.

The legal settlement of 1922 has proved so satisfactory and durable that only one major review has been necessary, and this review, that of 1935, was brought on largely by the anti-Swedish atmosphere of the time. Even so, the changes made were minor: that concerning the three large cities as mentioned

above and three further changes restrictive of bilingualism.[1] These restrictions, however, have proved to be of such minor import that they have not created any agitation for change.

The rules of Language Laws are so clearly written that few difficulties have been caused by contrary interpretation. The majority of such problems have arisen from the regulations governing the language knowledge requirements. For example, such a requirement as "the ability to master completely" a language does not necessarily mean that the state servant can actually handle the business of citizens in correct speech and writing, particularly if he has had little practice in using his knowledge in his own professional area.

4. Special Constitutional Arrangements: Åland[2]

a) Historical Developments to 1951. The Province of Åland has a special, semi-autonomous status within the Republic guaranteed both by constitutional and international law, the result of its strategic location and the "freak" political developments of 1917-1918.

The geographic position of the province, which is composed of an archipelago of 6,554 islands stretching across the mouth of the Gulf of Bothnia is such that the power in possession of the islands could close off both the Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland and thus materially affect naval and military operations

1. Cf. Appendix A. Cf. also Språkfredskommitténs Betänkande (Helsingfors, 1945), pp. 31-32.
2. Åland is the Swedish name for the islands and the province. The Finnish name is Ahvenamaa; the French, Aland; the German and English, Aaland .

in the Baltic. Though the strategic importance of the islands was recognized by both Sweden and Russia during the Great Northern War (1700-1721), they did not come under the jurisdiction of international law until the Treaty of Frederickshamn of 1809 when Russia, while taking the islands from Sweden, agreed to neutralize them. But in 1830 Russia disregarded the neutralization clause and began to fortify the islands, thus arousing the ire of the British fleet in addition to protest from Sweden. At the outbreak of the Crimean War the French fleet joined the British in destroying the fortifications and both powers joined in 1856 to add the Åland Conventions to the Peace Treaty of that year, in which Russia finally declared that it would not fortify the islands or maintain or construct thereon any military or naval establishments.[1] But again Russia, within forty years, managed to circumvent the Conventions by "interpreting" them to mean that the non-fortification obligation was only binding in peace-time, not in war; that she might put up "temporary" fortifications; and that the conventions referred to the islands only, not the water between, and that she thus could have warships in these waters. As a result of Russia's greater dependence on the Baltic after its defeat in the 1905 Japanese conflict, of the growth of the German navy, and of the resultant fears of Sweden a Declaration was signed in 1908 by Russia, Germany,

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1. British and Foreign State Papers, Vol. XLVI, p. 23.

Denmark and Sweden in which the signatories agreed to maintain the status quo in the Baltic, including the 1856 Åland Conventions.[1]

The First World War brought the position of the islands into the forefront again. Russia fortified them and aroused Sweden so much that only a renewal of the guarantees by France and Britain prevented Sweden from declaring war on Russia.

Finland declared her independence from Russia on December 4, 1917, and the Soviet Union recognized her independent status on December 31, 1917, with Sweden, France and Germany following on June 4, 1918. No mention whatsoever was made of the islands in these documents. Then, in the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 3, 1918, Russia agreed to withdraw all troops and naval forces from the islands and to remove as soon as possible all fortifications. By Article 6, the status "as regards the permanent non-fortification of these islands as well as their further treatment in respect to military and technical navigation matters", was left to become the subject of a special agreement to be concluded by Germany, Finland, Russia and Sweden. No mention was made of who was to be regarded as the rightful sovereign of the islands.

So far the problem had been one of international guarantees of neutrality, but in January 1918 it was compounded with the

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1. The islands are not mentioned by name, due to the personal wish of King Gustavus V of Sweden. Berliner Tageblatt, April 25, 1908, as cited by N.J. Padelford and K.G.A. Anderson, "The Aland Islands Question", American Journal of International Law, (1939), p. 439.

addition of demands for unification with Sweden presented by the islanders themselves. Further confusion was added by the Red rebellion in Finland between January and March of the same year, during which the islanders suffered a great deal of maltreatment and the islands were invaded for various reasons by Swedish, Finnish Red, Finnish White and German troops: the Swedes to protect the islands, the Finnish Whites to drive out the Finnish Reds, the Russians to foment revolution, and the Germans - at the request of the Finnish (White) government - to end the civil war.

It was during this confused period that a new phenomenon appeared on the scene when the islanders mobilized 98% of their adult population in favour of a movement to join Sweden.[1] They began their campaign for union with a request to the King of Sweden on February 2, 1918, and continued for the next three years to make strong representations on behalf of union to the Swedish King, the Swedish Parliament, the United States, Great Britain, France and the League of Nations.[2]

Sweden moved swiftly, and on February 20, 1918, it addressed a communiqué to the leading powers asking for a solution to the Åland question in accordance with the wishes of the Åland separatists, proposing that the question of sovereignty be settled bilaterally between Finland and Sweden and that the question of

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1. The movement first appeared, in secret, in August 1917, apparently as a result of Swedish interests in acquiring the islands, already voiced in some quarters in 1914-15.

2. The movement appears to have been both begun and actively encouraged and supported from Sweden. Wuorinen, History, p. 295.

neutralization of the islands be settled by the general peace congress at the end of the war. The Finns, of course, emphatically protested against the Swedish government's policy and procedure and for a time relations between the two countries were frigid. Meanwhile, the representations of the Ålanders continued and they succeeded in presenting their case to the Peace Conference early in 1919, which referred the question to one of its Committees,[1] but no action was taken. Finally, later that year it was brought before the League of Nations. The League proceeded promptly to deal with it by submitting two questions to a Committee of Jurists:[2] firstly, "Whether, within the meaning of paragraph 8 of Article 15 of the covenant the case presented by Sweden to the Council with reference to the Åland Islands deals with a question that should, according to International Law, be left entirely to the jurisdiction of Finland [as Finland contended] and, secondly, to discover "the present position with regard to international obligation concerning the demilitarization of the Åland Islands."

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1. Committee on Baltic Questions.

2. International Commission of Jurists, appointed on July 7,1919.

The Commission reported on September 5 on the first question that

> the dispute arose from a de facto situation caused by the political transformation of the Aaland Islands which transformation was caused by and originated in the separatist movement among the inhabitants, who quoted the principle of national self-determination, and certain military events which accompanied and followed the separation of Finland from the Russian Empire at a time when Finland had not yet acquired the character of a definitely constituted state.1

Therefore, the Commission concluded, the question was of such value that it could not be left by International Law to the domestic jurisdiction of Finland, and that, consequently, the League of Nations was competent to handle it. As regards the second question, the Commission stated that the Convention of 1856 was still in effect and that whichever state Åland belonged to was obligated to observe it.

The Council thereupon appointed a committee of three to examine the facts in the dispute and to submit its findings to the Council. This Committee visited Finland, the islands, and Sweden, carefully examined the facts and listened to a great deal of unsolicited pressure and opinion. They reported on June 20, 1921, that the islands were clearly under Finnish sovereignty but that did not imply that the dispute was purely domestic. Since the dispute had become international and had been brought before the League of Nations, and since the League of Nations was competent to handle the case, then a list of recommendations for

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1. League of Nations, Official Journal, Special Supplement, No. 3, October 1920, p. 14.

solutions were given. The Council debated the report and during the course of debate both Finland and Sweden bound themselves in advance to accept the Council's decisions. The Council thereupon adopted several resolutions which provided that: (1) Finland had sovereign rights over Åland; (2) the islands would be organized as a self-governing province; (3) to protect the "local Swedish traditions" of the islanders, the language of government, administration and education was to be Swedish, and Finnish could only be taught in the schools if the individual communes in the province so desired; (4) Finnish citizens not originally resident in the islands could own property on the islands and enjoy the right of national citizenship but could only acquire local citizens' rights of voting in local elections, etc., after a continuous five-year period of residence; (5) the President of Finland was to appoint a Governor (as he did to the other Provinces) but only after prior agreement with the Speaker of the Åland Assembly; (6) Finland guaranteed that the islands would become permanently neutralized and would never become a danger or threat to any foreign power.[1]

The decision of the Council was accepted without reservation by both Finland and Sweden. Finland had already undertaken a year previously, on May 5, 1920, to accommodate separatist sentiments by enacting a law providing for extensive rights of self-rule. Now, after the League of Nations' decision, the Government

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1. Cf. Aaland Islands: Guarantees to be given to the population, adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, June 27, 1921, in CL 110.1927 I Annex, pp. 16-17.

of Finland carried into effect the provisions set forth in the Council's recommendation by enacting a special Guarantee Law on August 11, 1922. Finally the demilitarization and neutralization of the islands was provided by an international agreement signed in Geneva on October 26, 1921, by Britain, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Latvia, Poland and Sweden, which went into effect on April 6, 1922.

The two laws of May 6, 1920, and August 11, 1922, were to be considered as Constitutional Laws and could be amended as such, but only with the consent of the Åland Provincial Assembly. This double guarantee is a guarantee of municipal constitutional law. In addition, through paragraph 6 of the Guarantee Law of August 11, 1922, which puts the population of the province under the protection of the Council of the League of Nations, Åland's self-government becomes assured by international law as well. The latter guarantee is, however, not a total carte blanche guarantee but a much more limited one, covering merely the regulations concerning self-government and language that are found in the Guarantee Law itself. Thus international law can safeguard linguistic autonomy of Åland only through the regulations of the Self-Government Act.

The story, however, does not end with the provision of constitutional and international guarantees, for the strategic position of the islands interfered again to make them an international problem. The demilitarization of the islands[1] was dealt

1. The islands had been fortified to some extent in 1939-1940 with the tacit agreement of Sweden.

with again in the Peace of 1940 and the Truce of 1944 between the Soviet Union and Finland. Then the population of Åland in 1945 demanded a general revision of the Self-Government Law to give the Provincial Assembly greater powers in law-making, but in particular to define exactly the limits of the respective powers of the national Parliament and President, and of the Åland Assembly. Hitherto differences of opinion as to whether Parliament and President or the Assembly had the residue of power not specifically assigned to the other, had created conflicts and had led to the annulment of a great deal of the Assembly's work. In one year the President of the Republic had vetoed no less than 32 of the Assembly's Acts. In its demand for revision and clarification of the basis of its existence, the Åland Assembly on September 11, 1945, pointed out to Parliament that Finnish sovereignty over the Province depended on Finland's guarantees to the population of cultural and language autonomy, which, however, had not worked satisfactorily. In addition, the further guarantees of the League of Nations had become non-existent with the dissolution of that body. Therefore, new and satisfactory guarantees were necessary. As a final demand the Ålanders again asked to be united with Sweden "as a function of the generally accepted international judicial system", based on Finland's nonfulfilment of its duties toward the islanders.[1] Sweden, however, stood aloof

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1. C-F. Palmstierna, Ålandsfrågan 1918-1951 (Stockholm, 1951), p. 24.

from this demand, but nevertheless expressed her interest in the welfare of the islanders insofar as she was one of the original and most directly involved guarantors.

The Finnish government appointed a committee to study the demands for change (except for the demand for union with Sweden) and in short order (on November 6, 1946) submitted a proposition to satisfy the Ålanders. To replace paragraph 6 of the Guarantee Law, lost by the disappearance of the League, the government proposed to attempt to work out a new guarantee to permit the Ålanders to place their grievances before an international forum. Unfortunately this liberal suggestion raised the opposition of the Soviet Union which felt that such a proposal would entrench on the Soviet-Finnish neutrality agreements[1] covering Åland and threaten Finland's sovereignty. Furthermore, the Soviet Union held, an international guarantee would open the way for foreign intervention in Åland.

The Finnish government was thus forced to drop the proposal. The Swedish government showed understanding of the Finnish position and simply pointed out that so far as Sweden was concerned the agreement between Finland and Sweden on which the League of Nations guarantee was based was still in effect and would be sufficient

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1. That is, the 1940 Peace Treaty, the 1944 Truce, the 1947 Peace Treaty, and the 1948 Agreement of Mutual Aid and Cooperation.

guarantee to satisfy Sweden. Further attempts were made during the next five years to include a satisfactory replacement for paragraph 6 but the Soviet Union protested vigorously, while Sweden reiterated its stand. The upshot was that on December 28, 1951, when the new Self-Government Law was finally enacted, no replacement for paragraph 6 was included. Thus formally, at least, the Ålanders have merely a municipal constitutional guarantee. But insofar as Sweden is concerned Finland has an international obligation to safeguard Åland's cultural and linguistic autonomy on the basis of the 1921 agreement between Sweden and Finland.

Insofar as international law is concerned the obligations arising from the League of Nations' agreement are still in force for the doctrine of pacta sunt servanda has not been nullified by clausula rebus sic stantibus. Furthermore, on the basis of the United Nations charter, that body could at any time declare the League Council's responsibilities for minorities its own, although it has not done so to date.

b) The Self-Government Act of 1951

Legislative and Administrative Powers. The Self-Government of Åland Act (28.12.1951/670) is in general merely a co-ordinated revision of two main previous Constitutional Laws: the Self-Government Act of 1920 and the Guarantee Act of 1922. But it goes beyond mere revision, for it includes a large number of

clarifications in the power relationship of the Åland Legislative Assembly and Government with the President and national Parliament. For example, whereas the 1920 Act had only 13 vague and ill-defined paragraphs on areas of law-making reserved to the central Parliament and President, the new 1951 Act has 20 well-defined paragraphs outlining precisely the areas of legislation reserved to the Republic, as in the earlier Act, but this time the limits of Åland provincial powers have been well defined, both by means of exclusion (Article 11, paragraphs 1-20)[1] and by means of inclusion in 21 explicit paragraphs (Article 13, paragraphs 1-21).[2] In the 1920 legislation the provincial legislative powers were simply defined in one short sentence as "those matters not excluded by Article 9 [the Article listing the powers reserved to the republic]". To compound the uncertainty, Åland legislation in these undefined areas could be vetoed quite simply by the President for various reasons.[3]

In the 1951 legislation the President lost his de facto extensive powers of curbing Åland legislation. He still has the de jure powers to veto legislation, but only when it is in clear

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1. Cf. Appendix B.
2. Cf. Appendix C.
3. Article 12 of the 1920 Act expressed the same reasons on this point, as paragraph 2, Article 14 of the 1951 Act. Cf. fn. 2, p. 3 1, infra.

violation of the powers of the Provincial Assembly. Furthermore, the veto has been made more difficult through the innovation of the Åland Delegation.[1]

The Åland Delegation's main function is to act as an arbitrator of conflicts between the state and the Provincial Legislative Assembly in routine administrative matters, such as taxes. But the Delegation is also charged with giving an advisory opinion in addition to the legal opinion of the Supreme Court in all provincial legislation submitted to the President.[2] Thus, in effect, the 1951 Act takes the subjective veto out of the President's hands,

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1. Åland Self-Government Act (28.12.1951/670), Article 28, paragraphs 2 and 3:

   The Åland Delegation is to consist of two members appointed by the court of State and two members appointed by the Åland Legislative Assembly. The Chairman of the Åland Delegation shall be the Governor of Åland or some other person appointed by the President after agreement with the Speaker of the Åland Legislative Assembly. The Delegation is only competent to decide in full complement, including any necessary alternates who are appointed in the same manner as a member.

   All members, including the Chairman, may be recalled by the President, Council of State or the Åland Assembly, when it is believed that there is sufficient reason for such an act. [This is a free translation from the original by the author.]

2. A free translation of Article 14, paragraphs 1-3 of the 1951 Act reads:

   A resolution of the Legislative Assembly regarding provincial laws shall be sent to the President by the Speaker of the Assembly. The Governor must be informed of this action.

   If the President of the Republic, after having obtained the opinion of the Supreme Court, finds that the Provincial Legislative Assembly has trenched on an area of jurisdiction reserved for the state, or on the interior or external security of the state, then he has the right to veto the legislation in question within three months of receipt. However, if the President indicates before the termination of the three months' period that he is not going to use his right of veto, then the law becomes effective immediately.

   Before Provincial legislation may be presented to the President for consideration, the Åland Delegation is required to give its opinion on the legislation in question.

both by prescribing clear limits of legislative power to the Åland legislative Assembly--which has drastically decreased the propensity of the latter to act beyond its powers -- and by requiring the opinion of an arbitration board, the Åland Delegation, to be considered before a veto can be applied.

In the area of administrative powers, similar changes towards clarity are evident in the 1951 Act. For example, while the administrative powers of the President vis-à-vis the Province were ill-defined in eight very brief paragraphs in the 1920 Act (Article 17), in the 1951 Act these are precisely defined in twenty complex paragraphs in Article 18.[1] All else is left exclusively in the hands of the Åland government, as in the previous Act.

There are several more improvements in the 1951 Act, which follow the legislative and general administrative changes outlined above in further spelling out in detail the limits of power of self-government in Åland. For example, Chapter V (Articles 25 to 33) precisely outlines the financial powers of the Province and its financial relations with the state; Chapter VI (Article 34) provides for civil service, through pilot and lighthouse service, for Ålanders in place of compulsory

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1. Cf. Appendix D.

military service;[1] and Chapter IX regulates disciplinary action against provincial officials in cases of misconduct and criminal action in office.

Language in Åland: Schools and Public Service. The language regulations orginally included in Article 2 of the 1922 Guarantee Act, as a result of the League of Nations' resolution, are reiterated in Chapter VII (Article 35).[2]

Chapter VII (Articles 36-39) reiterates in more detail and with the necessary changes resulting from the innovation of the Åland Delegation, the linguistic provisions governing language in the provincial public service and in its relations with

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1. This was originally included in Article 27 of the 1920 Act. Incidentally, Ålanders have never been "conscripted" for pilot or lighthouse service, and likely never will be, since great navigational expertise is required for the former and the latter are being replaced by automated lights.

2. A free translation of Article 35 reads:

   Åland's Legislative Assembly and its communes are not required to maintain or give support to any schools but those in which the language of instruction is Swedish.

   In all state educational institution the language of instruction shall be Swedish.

   No instruction in any language but Swedish may be given in elementary schools maintained or receiving support from the state or a commune, without the explicit agreement of the commune in which the school is located.

state authorities, originally found in Chapter VIII (Articles 28-31) in the 1920 Act.[1]

Local Citizenship. To further preserve the "language, culture and local Swedish traditions" of Åland, the League of Nations' resolution decreed that only the regular inhabitants of Åland should possess local citizens' rights. Article 3 of the Guarantee Act, 1922, stated that

> Finnish citizens who immigrate to the Province of Åland acquire the right to vote at communal and provincial elections only after a five-year period of residence.

The same concept is reiterated in the 1951 Act, but receives much more extensive and detailed treatment. For instance, instead

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1. A free translation of Articles 37-39 of the 1951 Act reads:

> Article 37. The official language of administration /which compares to the Internal Official Language, cf. the chapter on Public Administration in this study, section 4,/ of the state authorities located in Åland, and of the Åland Delegation, is Swedish. Finnish-speaking persons have the right to use their own language in a case concerning themselves and to receive dispositions in such a case according to the same regulations, as laid down by the Language Laws of Finland, that govern the rights of Swedish-speaking persons in Finnish-speaking districts.
>
> Article 38. Correspondence between authorities subordinated to the Åland Provincial Authority and state authorities located in Åland, and between the former authority and the court of state, the Central Authorities, and such higher courts and other state authorities that have jurisdiction in Åland, shall be Swedish. The Supreme Court must issue dispositions and decisions concerning the province in the Swedish language.
>
> Article 39. No one may be employed in the state service in Åland who has not demonstrated that he has mastered both spoken and written Swedish.

of having only one general paragraph as in the 1922 Act, Article 3 of the 1951 Act is divided into nine paragraphs, each dealing with a specific aspect of local citizenship.[1]

Redemption of Real Property. One area of local rights in Åland that remains under the control of the national Parliament is that of redemption of real property.[2] Article 5 of the 1951 Act declares that:

> when real property descends to a person who does not enjoy local rights in Åland, or to a company, firm, organization or institution that has not been legally resident in Åland for five years, or all of whose directors or members do not enjoy local rights, then, either the Province, the commune in which the real property is located, or a private person who enjoys local rights, has the right to redeem the property at a price that is agreed to by the owner or if agreement is not reached, then at a price set by the courts in accordance with the value of the property at the time concerned. [Free translation by the author][3]

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1. For example, paragraph 8 states that those Ålanders who become citizens of foreign countries or who reside continuously and permanently outside the province during a period of five years lose their Åland local citizens' rights.

   Note also that Article 3 gives the Åland Legislative Assembly the power to further regulate local citizenship.

2. Nowhere in the Self-Government Act is it stated that mainland Finns cannot hold real property in Åland. The redemption clause is merely inserted to leave control of mainland "influence" in the hands of the Ålanders.

3. This provision was also decreed by the League of Nations' resolution and was first implemented by the Guarantee Act of 1922 (Article 5), but in more general terms than are found in the 1951 Act (Article 5).

The regulations governing the details of redemption of real property are left to the national Parliament (Article 5, paragraph 3). Article 11 (paragraph 20), however, requires the consent of the Åland Legislative Assembly before changes can be made in the law governing ownership of real property in Åland.

The detailed regulations governing redemption of real property were duly put into force by an Act of Parliament, number 140/1938. This was updated to conform with the 1951 concept of more detailed regulations by the Redemption of Real Property Act of 28.12.1951/67, which supplants the former Act. The latter Act does not state any new principles, but merely expands on that expressed in Article 5 of the Self-Government Act of 1951. The Act is part of the Constitutional Law of Finland and thus can only be changed according to the regulations covering constitutional amendment.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the 1951 revision greatly improves on the earlier arrangements: two previous laws are co-ordinated; constitutional practice is explicitly stated; and the limits of the respective jurisdictions of the President, Parliament, the Åland Legislative Assembly and the Åland government are clarified and set down in detail, thereby preventing a great deal of the confusion in these areas which the generalities of previous legislation had permitted to arise. The Ålanders themselves appear quite happy with the new Acts and have not

agitated for further change since 1951, and the state is relieved of much of the burden of constantly containing local legislative ambition.[1]

Finally, it merits pointing out that Åland, on the basis of constitutional law, does not compare with the constitutional positions of either the Canadian Provinces or the American states, but rather represents a unique combination of limited internal independence, checked in several areas of legislation and administration by overall national parliamentary and governmental control, and in the legislative field by the ultimate control of the President. But while the "constitution" of Åland is itself a creation of the national Parliament, it cannot be amended without the explicit consent of the Åland Legislative Assembly.[2]

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1. No data is available on the actual working of the new arrangements.

2. Politically, however, Åland is virtually independent. Ålanders are but little interested in mainland activity and their "Swedishness" is so extremely insular that the mainland Swedo-Finns, as a rule, are not able to count on the Ålanders for support in pan-Finland Swedo-Finn interests, either in the Folkting (the Swedo-Finn Assembly, which is an informal "Parliament" of Swedish-Finland and its main coordinating organ) or in the Swedo-Finn People's Party. Although the lone Åland Islands M.P., elected by an independent Åland wing of the Swedish Party, sits and votes with this party in Parliament, there is little further contact between the main party and its Åland wing. Thus the psychological differences between the islanders and the mainland Swedo-Finns prevent the former from becoming an anchor for Swedish in Finland, and politically cut Åland off from the mainland.

APPENDIX A

Résumés of three changes in the Language Act of 1922 introduced in 1935 (5.4.1935/141).

1. From: Districts containing communes with different languages or bilingual communes are to be regarded as bilingual.

To: Districts containing communes with different languages or bilingual communes are to be considered to be unilingual or bilingual only in respect to these particular communes.

2. From: Courts and other state authorities within bilingual administrative districts are to use either Finnish or Swedish as their Internal Official Language with respect to further regulations.

To: Courts and other state authorities within bilingual administrative districts or containing bilingual communes or communes with different languages are to use as their Internal Official Language the language of the majority of the administrative district, with the provisio that, in matters in which a disposition must be given, the language in which the case was originally brought shall be used.

3. A number of notices, proclamations and similar public promulgations in bilingual districts which according to the 1922 law should be made in both languages could, according to the 1935 changes be published only in the language of the majority, unless the authority in question decided otherwise, or the citizens having business with the authority on a particular matter demanded otherwise. [These changes were made in several, widely separated paragraphs. Consequently, only their general purport is given here.]

APPENDIX B

A résumé of Article 11 (paragraphs 1-20), Self-Government Act of Åland, 1951.

According to the Constitution Act, the state reserves the power of changing, amending, repealing or enacting the basic laws of the state, including matters in which decision cannot be reached without the consent of Parliament. The Åland Legislative Assembly has the right to cooperate in the changing, amendment, explanation or repeal of these laws insofar as they concern the self-government of Åland.

The state further reserves the right to enact laws or ordinances concerning the following:

1. citizens' rights in general, including economic rights;
2. the national flag and arms of Finland and their use;
3. foreign relations;
4. national defence arrangements;
5. general taxation except those taxes given to Åland in Article 23 (these include commercial, industrial and amusement taxes);
6. fundamental compulsory education regulations; the regulations governing university entrance qualification; and the regulations governing state recognition of academic competence;

7. fundamental regulations governing national and communal franchise and elections;
8. family, guardianship, inheritance, patent laws and other areas of private law (such as private maritime law, trade marks, etc.);
9. liquor control; social security; mothers allowances and other social security arrangements (such as invalids' pensions, work protection, collective bargaining, etc.);
10. printing, publishing of periodicals, banking and finance, mines and minerals, manufacture of margarine, and other specifically named areas of commercial activity (six other categories are listed);
11. all private law not covered in the preceding paragraph except for the areas given to the province as listed in Article 13, paragraphs 4, 6, 8 and 9;
12. historic sites and artifacts, and all public archives in the state;
13. general criminal law insofar as it has not been given to the province in Article 13, paragraph 11;
14. general statistics, national censuses, emigration;
15. general health care, medical matters and prevention of epidemics (a detailed list of nine specific regulations follows);
16. state administration, state offices in Åland, state service appointments and regulations;

17. pilot and lighthouse services and general maintenance law (here follows a list of six categories relating to commerce and transportation, such as railroads, banknotes, weights and measures, etc.);
18. changes in ecclesiastical, judicial, communal and administrative divisions in state administration;
19. international treaties and areas covered by these, with the provisio that the Legislative Assembly gives consent to matters in treaties concerning its areas of jurisdiction before the treaty obligations can come into force in the province;
20. all areas of jurisdiction not so far specifically covered by legislation but which on the basis of this Article belong to the jurisdiction of the state.

The concluding section provides that without the consent of the Legislative Assembly no changes may be made in the basic regulations covering the right of ownership of land in Åland or touching the fundamental principles given in paragraphs 6 and 7.

APPENDIX C

A Brief Résumé of Article 13 (paragraphs 1, 2) Self-Government Act of Åland, 1951.

The Åland Legislative Assembly is empowered to legislate within the following areas of jurisdiction, but not so as to trench on the areas of jurisdiction reserved for the state legislative organs in Article 11:

1. right of expropriation;
2. educational activity with the exception of the area reserved for the state in Article 11, paragraph 2;
3. communal administration, including communal taxation, and communal electoral law;
4. water-laws;
5. homestead loans, communal social services;
6. laws governing working-conditions, collective bargaining; hours of business for stores;
7. settlement (kolonisationsverksamhet or asutustoimintaa);
8. agricultural and conservation matters;
9. businesses reauiring licences by law, with due regard to the basic economic freedom and with the reservations found in Article 11, paragraphs 1 and 2;
10. care of historic sites with due regard to the reservation in Article 11, paragraphs 1 and 2;

11. setting of fines and penalties in the area of law in the jurisdiction of the Province; disciplinary action on provincial public servants;
12. upholding of general peace and security, with the exception of those areas necesary to the security of the state, including general police activities which remain with the state;
13. inflammable oils and explosives insofar as state security is not concerned;
14. child protection with the exception of areas included under family and child custody laws including criminal law in this area;
15. poor laws and other communal social security legislation;
16. health and sickness care with the exceptions listed in Article 11, paragraph 15;
17. road traffic and local (coast) sea-traffic;
18. nature conservation and implantation of foreign flora and fauna in the province;
19. town-planning; building regulations and fire regulations;
20. provincial coat of arms and flag with the proviso that the use of the state flag not be restricted;
21. other matters not enacted on by the state and within the jurisdiction of the present article.

APPENDIX D

Résumé of Article 19, Self-Government Act of Åland, 1951.

Article 19. The state retains administration over:

1. foreign affairs;
2. justice;
3. defence arrangements;
4. national security;
5. state finances;
6. general control over education;
7. general state administration; health and medical matters. Special regulations cover:
   a) medical personnel, Finnish by citizenship but who have received their medical training in Sweden and wish to practice in Åland;
   b) control over health and medical regulations which are to be implemented by the Province or the communes;
   c) control over district, city and communal medical offices districting;
   d) control over appointment of district medical offices to be implemented by the Province;
   e) control over private medical care and insurance arrangements to be implemented by the Province;
   f) control over meat inspection to be implemented by the Province;

8. those parts of state administration which are listed in Article 11, paragraph 17;
9. expropriation for state needs, with the proviso that the Provincial government has the right to give an opinion before such action takes place;
10. all other matters of administration that result from the legislative power reserved to the state.

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Toivo Miljan
January, 1966

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

PART TWO - INSTITUTIONS

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Part One - Presidential-Parliamentary Government

Finland is a republic governed by a presidential-parliamentary type of government. The main difference between the presidential and parliamentary types of government lies in the position and the function of the Head of State: in the former he owes his position to universal election (either by direct election or indirectly through a college of electors); in the latter he owes his position either to heredity or to election by Parliament. A corollary difference between the two systems lies in the functions of the Head of State and his relationship with Parliament: in the former the Head of State functions as the real executive of state, and his powers and Parliament's powers are divided and separated; in the latter the Head of State functions as a formal or figurehead executive, the real power being invested in Parliament. Thus in the one system the Executive is independent of Parliament and in the other system the Executive depends on the support of Parliament. The United States and Canada may be taken as respective examples of the two systems.

Finland, as the Fifth Republic of France, however fits into neither of these models for part of the Executive, the Prime Minister and Cabinet, depend on Parliament for its political power, while another part

-- the President -- is independent of Parliament, being elected for a fixed term by universal suffrage (indirectly through a college of electors). As well, both the President's and Parliament's powers are defined by the Constitution but in such a manner that, in the normal operation of government, both depend on co-operation. Thus, Finland may be said to have a presidential-parliamentary type of government.

1. The Executive

The Executive in Finland is divided formally into two institutions: the Presidency and the Cabinet, each with its own constitutional and political powers and responsibilities. Yet to function effectively the two parts must co-operate for the independent powers of each appear sufficient to create a stalemate in short order. However, to forestall this situation, the President has been given superior constitutional powers which in effect means that he is in control[1] of the governmental apparatus at all times and that constitutional government can operate even when political stalemates prevent the formation of a

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1. Control does not mean that he is as dominant as the President of the United States.

democratically representative government. This constitutional position of the President is important in Finland where political views and the differences between these views bulk much larger than they do in North America or even in England. The play of these forces, combined with the constitutional powers of the President, has indeed made the President the single most dominant figure in Finnish government and politics. His dominance, nevertheless, tends to take a supra-political form, for his main responsibility is to the Constitution and the State, and secondly to the whole people of Finland.[1]

This seemingly would leave the Cabinet free to act as the base of political orientation, but this is not the case, for most of the Cabinets of Finland have been coalition cabinets where compromise has been essential to survival. Politicians being but human the compromise between them sooner or later breaks down and then differences in opinion may clash violently enough to bring about the resignation of a sufficiently large part of the Cabinet as to

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1. He is elected indirectly through a college of electors. Because of the party configuration in Finland, which has six parties on the average -- three major and three minor (the latter still of influential size with 10-20 seats) -- and the "bourgeois" - socialist political division, the President has always been a coalition candidate.

necessitate the formation of a new coalition. This is where the President's skill in placating opposing views and finding solutions, while at the same time administering government, becomes important.

But it is the President's main legislative function of presenting propositions to Parliament which gives him the greatest opportunity to influence the policies of his Ministers and to ensure that these policies are acceptable or become acceptable to all of the Cabinet. It appears, then, that political necessity rather than formal constitutional powers has raised the President to his important position as tacit as well as overt arbiter of political views. As elected representative of all the people of Finland, the political power of his mandate combined with his dominant constitutional position make him the pre-eminent figure of Finnish government and politics.

The co-operation that the Constitution demands of the Executive is demonstrated by Article 34 of the Constitution Act which requires the President to make all official decisions in the presence of the Council of State upon the report of the Minister within whose competency the matter in question falls. Furthermore all Presidential decisions, including decrees and statutes of Parliament,[1] must be

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1. Certain, purely administrative matters involving supervision of the state administration do not need countersigning, (Constitution Act, Article 32).

validated by the countersignature of the Minister reporting in the matter. The countersigner then becomes responsible in constitutional law[1] for the document bearing his signature.

2. The Executive and Language

It can be seen from the preceding that any decision taken by the President is made in the light of and in full knowledge of the Cabinet's views. Conversely, any views held by the Cabinet can be influenced by the President. Thus, particularly in regard to constitutionally sensitive matters, such as language, the President, who is assured of a six-year term and is responsible to the constitution generally, tends to take the broad view conducive to the long-term good of

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1. The countersigner also becomes responsible to Parliament for his (and the President's) action.

the nation.[1]

This has meant that Presidents in the past have been credited with equitable solutions to language problems. Action was taken under four of the eight Presidents to guard Swedo-Finn rights: under Ståhlberg the Language Laws were first enacted and put into operation; under Svinhufvud the edge of

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1. (i) The "solemn vow" that the President makes in the presence of Parliament, on the occasion of his assumption of office, expresses this very basic responsibility. It reads:

> I,[full name], elected President of the Republic of Finland, do hereby vow that in the execution of my office of President I will truly and faithfully obey and uphold the Constitution and the laws of the Republic, and that I will promote the welfare of the people of Finland to the utmost of my ability. (Constitution Act, Article 24)

Note further that the first provision of the Constitution after the general statement of the form of state and government (in Articles 1 - 4) concerns the "General Rights and Legal Protection of Finnish Citizens" (Chapter II, Articles 5 - 16), which are reflected in the President's oath of office.

(ii) In any case, and particularly because of the coalition aspect of Presidential candidacy, the President is not too interested in pandering to partisan opinion. Indeed the opposite appears to be the case if we take Presidential election campaigns as indicators of Presidential behavior. The most important factors in the campaign appear to be the personality and the statesmanlike image of the candidate, and public respect for him. It should also be remembered that, though elected indirectly, the President does depend on the ballot of all Finnish citizens for his election.

the anti-Swedo-Finn (aito-suomalais) nationalist movement was blunted; under Ryti the Language Peace Committee was instituted and charged with the task of searching for solutions to the language strife, the territorial areas of Swedo-Finn concentration were protected, and the resettlement of the Karelian refugees was equitably and successfully solved;[1] under Paasikivi the language question at the University of Helsinki was finally settled to the satisfaction of both Finn and Swedo-Finn, and the Ålanders' demands for constitutional reform were satisfactorily met.

In the cases cited, the rôle of the President varied, from scrupulously disinterested adherence to the spirit of the Constitution to direct action despite strong opposition in the Cabinet and in Parliament. In general it can be said that while each President acted according to his own style -- that is his personality, temperament and concept

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1. The cession of the province of Karelia to the Soviet Union "dumped" 400,000 Finnish-speakers in Finland. They were mostly farmers who had to be resettled in areas comparable to their former home. These were to be found in the southwestern part of Finland which however, was heavily populated by Swedo-Finns. A careless resettlement easily could have resulted in the total breaking-up of the Swedo-Finn concentration in the unilingual Swedish and bilingual communes of the south-west. However, this catastrophe for the Swedo-Finns was averted by permitting Swedo-Finns to "buy" their way out of having to accept non-Swedish-speaking refugees. Cf. Historical Chapter, supra pp. 131 - 133.

of his role as molded by necessity[1] -- the description of Stålberg's appreciation of his central rôle and his devotion to the national welfare based on a long view of politics can, nevertheless, be ascribed to all the four Presidents in question, and perhaps to all eight.

> Son désintéressement personnel et ... politique allant si loin qu'un des mobiles qui expliquent son refus de se laisser réélire pour un second mandat en 1925 fut son désir de faciliter par sa retraite une réconciliation de la droite, qui persistait dans son hostilité à sa personne, avec la présidence en fait d'institution et aussi avec le régime parlementaire.[2]

Only one of these four Presidents (Svinhufvud) came from identifiable Swedo-Finn stock.[3] He, however, refusing to consider himself as either a Swedo-Finn or a Fenno-Finn, learned to speak perfect Finnish and always acted in accord with the principles of the super-patriot that he was. It can definitely be said that the Swedo-Finns did not gain anything during his Presidency that,

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1. Eg., while Stålberg tended largely to accept the advice of his cabinet and Ryti in several instances forced the Cabinet to agree with him, Svinhufvud was able by his very personality and force of character to dominate the Cabinet, and Paasikivi, because of changed international circumstances, had to act more independently than his predecessors.

2. P. Kastari, La présidence de la république en Finland (Neuchâtel, 1962), p. 66.

3. Svinhufvud was one of the principal founders of the Finnish state. As a member of the Senate, he worked actively against Russification in the early decades of the century. He was Prime Minister of the Senate that declared Finland independent, and interim Head of State in 1917-1918.

in similar circumstances, other Presidents would not have done for them. Only one other President, Marshal Mannerheim,[1] who was made President by special enabling legislation of Parliament in 1944 to fill the term of retiring President Ryti, had a Swedo-Finn background. But he, like Svinhufvud, was always a super-patriot and refused to consider himself as anything but an unhyphenated Finn. In this connection it is interesting to note that Marshal Mannerheim never learned to speak Finnish fluently, but nevertheless insisted on speaking it almost exclusively, however incorrectly, throughout his life.[2]

On the basis of the preceding overview of the President's position in the configuration of political and constitutional powers in the state, it is clear that all the Presidents, regardless of their political or language background, have tended to act in the past as guardians of Swedo-Finn rights. A similar examination of the rôle of the Prime Ministership would show an entirely different and essentially partisan orientation. Because of the coalitional nature of Finnish politics and the overbearing

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1. Before becoming President, Marshal Mannerheim had been the interim Head of State in 1918-1919, chief of the Military Forces and the acknowledged "saviour" of Finland during the civil insurrection of 1918, the Winter War of 1939-1940 and the Continuation War of 1941-1944.

2. Soldiers particularly, to whom the Marshal gave innumerable, impromptu "pep-talks", would joke about and make fun of his usage of the language. Their loyalty to his leadership, however, was not affected by this.

importance of economico-ideological conflicts even Swedo-Finn Prime Ministers, be they representatives of the Swedo-Finn People's Party or members of other parties, have not markedly served Swedo-Finn interests.[1] On a cabinet-wide scale, though, there appears little doubt that the political configuration has directly served Swedo-Finn interests. Swedo-Finn party representation has been present in 32 of the 52 cabinets between 1917 and 1965. In fifteen cabinets there have been two Swedo-Finn members; in five, three; and in one, four. However, in three of the 32 cabinets, the Swedo-Finns have not served as party representatives but as individual non-party experts. Altogether the Swedo-Finn party has had no representation in only 20 cabinets out of 49. Of the 48 years since independence, but 16 years and 2 months have passed without a Swedo-Finn in the cabinet. Most of the period of non-representation lies in the 1920's, when from 1921 to 1924 and from 1925 to 1930 no Swedo-Finn was a member of the cabinet.

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1. Two Prime Ministers have been members of the Swedo-Finn Party: Törngren (May 5 to October 20, 1959) and Von Fieandt (November 29, 1957 to April 26, 1958). Fagerholm, a Swedo-Finn member of the Social Democratic Party has been Prime Minister three times: July 29, 1948 to March 17, 1950; March 3, 1956 to May 27, 1957; and August 29, 1958 to January 13, 1959. These are the only Swedo-Finn Prime Ministers between 1944 and 1961.

   No reliable information is available for the period 1917-1944. However, on the basis of an analysis of the surnames of the pre-War Prime Ministers, it would appear that six other Swedo-Finns filled this position, forming eleven ministries with a total life of nine and a half years out of the 27.

In contrast, since 1939 (in 26 years) the party has been unrepresented in the Cabinet for a total of a mere four years and eleven months, divided into seven periods. The longest uninterrupted period of non-representation since 1939 has been 20 months (from 1948 to 1950); the next lasted for 17 months (from 1954 to 1956). In addition there were two periods of nine months (1961-1962 and 1963-1964), two short intervals of two months each (in 1957) and one of four weeks in 1958.[1]

The Swedo-Finn Party has apparently been able to further its interests in the Cabinet.[2] Had it not been satisfied, it would not have consented, nor would it be consenting now, to co-operate in coalition. Since the basic philosophy and the programme of the Party have remained consistent in their orientation and since the Party has seen fit to co-operate in coalition government to the overwhelming degree indicated by the above data, then it is reasonable to conclude that the Party feels that its participation in Cabinet has been and is to its advantage.[3]

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1. Cf. Appendix I.

2. This is borne out by such studies as H. Dahl, Finlands Svenskar (Helsingfors, 1956); Gunnar Bonsdorff, Svenska Folkpartiet (Helsinki, 1956); and by the fortieth jubilee album of the Swedish People's Party, W.E. Nordström, Fyrtio År Svensk Politik i Finland (Ekenäs, 1946).

3. Examples of this advantage are unfortunately not available since the sources cited in the previous footnote do not deal with details and other data are not yet available.

With regard to the language employed by President and Cabinet, all indications point to unilingual Finnish usage. All Presidents have preferred Finnish and all Swedo-Finn Cabinet ministers appear to have been bilingual. Also, the working language of the Finnish government and Parliament is Finnish.[1]

3. Parliament

Historically the Finnish Parliament claims descent from the Swedish Diet of the period of the joint Kingdom of Sweden-Finland. More directly, the present Parliament traces its form to the reforms of 1906 that instituted the single chamber Diet,[2] of 200 members elected by proportional representation in secret, equal and universal ballot by all citizens over 24 years of age. Indeed, the 1906 Diet Act was not affected by the declaration of independence in 1917 and needed no revision until 1928, when the presently valid Parliament Act, incorporating but minor changes, was enacted.[3]

According to the Parliament Act, the Parliament (Finnish - Eduskunta, Swedish - Riksdagen) of Finland is composed of 200 members chosen according to the

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1. Regarding propositions of government and other communications to Parliament, see the following section on Parliament.

2. The term Diet was formally dropped in 1928 and the term Parliament substituted.

3. Since then there have been two principal amendments:
   (i) in 1944 the universal age for voting was lowered to 21 from 24; and,
   (ii) in 1954 the maximum life of Parliament was extended from three years to four.

d'Hondt system of proportional representation from lists prepared by political parties in sixteen unequal electoral districts.[1] The Members of Parliament in general enjoy the same rights and privileges and have the same duties as do Canadian Members of Parliament. In fact, Parliament in Finland operates much as does Parliament in Canada. There are, however, some important differences. First, the Speaker performs a more important rôle than does his Canadian counterpart: he is elected by the House from among its own membership and has two deputies to assist him; he does not take part in debate or vote; and he chairs the Speaker's conference, composed of his deputies and the chairmen of committees, which plans the work of Parliament and in general concerns itself with its efficient operation. Because of the multi-party system, coalition government and frequent cabinet crises, as well as the Speaker's prominent position in Parliament, it has become customary for the President to consult the Speaker in the event of Parliamentary crisis.[2] Second, Parliament meets

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1. The districts elect from one to nineteen members: The Province of Åland comprises one electoral district with one member, whereas the city of Helsinki comprises another which, at the last election (in 1962), elected 19 members. The number of seats allotted to districts are revised decennially on the basis of registered inhabitants in proportion to the total registered population.

2. Indeed several members have alternated between the Speakership and the Prime Ministership, e.g., Kekkonen and Fagerholm in the early fifties.

at the summons of the Speaker normally for only two days of the week -- Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Third, the important work of Parliament is done, in camera, in committee. To this end there are five standing committees[1] and a number of extraordinary committees which may be set up as required, although Parliament has been in the habit of establishing six of these regularly.[2] Members are appointed to these committees by proportional vote of 45 "electors" chosen by Parliament for the duration of its term. Fourth, yet another committee, the Grand Committee, is elected by proportional vote of all members to serve as a substitute for an Upper House. All motions of law, without exception, as well as other matters, when so decided by Parliament, must be handled by the Grand Committee before Parliament passes decision on them in plenary session. The final decision of the plenary session is always made on the basis of the proposition of this committee.

It can thus be seen that the Finnish Parliament operates a little differently and perhaps more efficiently than the Canadian Parliament insofar

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1. These are: constitutional; laws; foreign affairs; finance; and banking.

2. These are: economics; law and economy; cultural affairs; agriculture; social affairs; defence and communications.

as Parliamentary decision making is concerned: most of the actual work is done, in camera, in committee which leaves only the formal decision to be made by Parliament as a whole. Speeches in plenary session tend to reflect this for they are usually very short and to the point.

4. Language Provisions in Parliament

The Parliament Act of 1928 -- a constitutional document -- formally establishes the institution of Parliament, lays down its operative principles and organizational plan, and outlines the formal procedure of lawmaking. The Rules of Order Act of 1927[1] -- a regular statute of Parliament -- complements the Parliament Act by outlining in detail the procedure to be followed in the transaction of business. Just as the content of the Parliament Act could be compared with three Canadian Acts: the House of Commons Act, the Senate and House of Commons Act and the Speaker of the House of Commons Act, so the Rules of Order could be compared to the Rules of Order of the House of Commons of Canada.

The former Act includes only one article dealing with language regulations, Article 88. This conforms to the intent and purpose of the Act and thus only lays down the general principles to be followed in regard to language usage in and by the House:

1. In Finnish, Eduskunnan työjärjestys; in Swedish, Riksdags arbetsordningen: in direct translation, Parliament's Order of Work.

> In the transaction of business in Parliament, the Finnish or Swedish language shall be used. The opinions and reports of committees as well as the written proposals of the Speaker's Conference and of the Committee for the Secretariat should be drawn up in these two languages.
>
> Written communications addressed by the Government to Parliament should likewise be drawn up in Finnish and Swedish.[1]

Language usage in Parliament is regulated in more detailed form by three articles -- Articles 40, 59 and 60 -- in the Rules of Order Act. These three articles make it quite clear that though both Finnish and Swedish are equally acceptable languages in Parliament, Finnish is the main language of the parliamentary process and Swedish is the language of translation. Article 59, for example, clearly states that the "Finnish text shall be used as the basis of transaction in Parliament". The text shall be translated into Swedish, under the direction of the Committee[2] concerned, or by the Swedish bureau, under the supervision of a member of the committee concerned in conjunction with the five examiners[3] of Parliament, who shall have the right to decide on the final wording of the Swedish text.[4]

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1. See also the chapter on the Constitution of this study, p. C 10.

2. Note that <u>all</u> formal business of Parliament is handled at some stage by a specific standing or extraordinary committee. See above, section 3.

3. Article 85 of the Parliament Act, provides for the election of five members as examiners whose duty it is to supervise the drafting of <u>all</u> communications and resolutions of Parliament (including its committees).

4. Rules of Order Act, Article 59.

There is no provision in law for the translation of the debates of Parliament into Swedish, but Swedish speeches are printed in the original in the Finnish language Pyötäkirjat (Debates of Parliament). Article 60, however, requires that in addition a précis of the proceedings be published in Swedish.[1] The decision as to the form that the précis shall take rests with the Offices Committee.[2]

Provision for the use of Swedish by the Speaker is found in paragraph 2 of Article 40, which requires the Speaker to use both Finnish and Swedish in conducting the proceedings of the House.[3] He is also required to use both languages in giving his reasons for refusing to introduce for plenary consideration a question raised, or in refusing to submit a proposal to vote.[4] He may, however, should he find it necessary, also translate his other communications

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1. These are published in the Protokoll i sammandrag (Précis of Proceedings).

2. Rules of Order Act, Article 60.

3. I.e., in supervising debate.

4. According to Article 80, paragraph 1 of the Parliament Act the Speaker may refuse, if he believes that the matter or proposal in question is contrary to Constitutional Law, or to another law, or to a decision already taken by Parliament. He must, however, give his reasons to the House, which then must approve his decision. If the House does not approve, then the matter goes before the Constitutional Committee for final decision. The decision of the Committee cannot be appealed or overruled. (Article 80, paragraph 2).

to the House.[1] Beyond these requirements there are no other provisions for general consecutive or simultaneous interpretation of Finnish into Swedish. Paragraph 3 of Article 40, however, does require simultaneous private interpretation of Finnish language debates and communications given by the Speaker to the House that are not publicly translated, for the benefit of Swedish-speaking members who do not understand Finnish. Furthermore,Finnish speeches must be translated into written Swedish within five days of the request being made to the Offices Committee.[2]

The only remaining language provision is found in paragraph 1 of Article 40 and concerns the consecutive interpretation of Swedish into Finnish: immediately after any Swedish language speech a public translation of the "main points" of the speech must be given in Finnish.[3]

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1. Article 40, paragraph 2. The paragraph in question does not require that the Speaker be bilingual. If he is not, then it is the duty of one of the official interpreters to inform instantly the House in Swedish of whatever the Speaker requires him to translate.

2. Article 40, paragraph 3.

3. It has become customary for Swedish-speaking members to give a copy of the prepared speech or its main points, either in Swedish or Finnish, to the Speaker before they make their speech.

There are two organizational provisions to facilitate the translation required by the laws cited above: paragraph 2 of Article 7 of the Rules of Order Act sets up the Swedish bureau and the Swedish stenographic pool as departments of the Secretariat of Parliament.[1] It is the duty of the Swedish bureau to handle all Swedish language translation, interpretation and in general assist in the Swedish language activities of Parliament. The Swedish stenographic office provides Swedish language stenographic and typing services as required by the Swedish bureau, by Parliament in general, and by Swedish language members in their official work as members.

5. Language Usage in Parliament

To understand the actual position of the Finnish and Swedish languages in Parliament we must discover the extent to which they are actually used by Parliament and its members in their official capacities. To this end we shall first look at the language knowledge of members, then at the verbal use of the languages in Parliament, and then at their use in official documents. Finnally we shall attempt to discover the attitudes of member toward the existing laws and conditions.

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1. The Secretariat is divided into six departments: the central bureau, the Swedish bureau, the printing office, the Finnish stenographic office, the Swedish stenographic office, and the typing pool. The Secretariat operates under the direction of the Offices Committee, composed of the Speaker, his two deputies and four elected Members of Parliament. See Article 89 of the Parliament Act, and Articles 5, 6 and 7 of the Rules of Order Act.

Language Knowledge of Members. As can be seen from the following table (I), in the session of 1939 there were no unilingual Swedish members who would require interpretation in order to understand the proceedings of the House. In the sessions of 1948 and 1965, on the other hand, there were respectively, three and two members who could not function in Finnish and were entitled to simultaneous interpretation as provided by paragraph 3 of Article 40 of the

Table I

Bilingualism of Members of Parliament in Selected Sessions

Session	M.P.'s with SWEDISH as their Mother Tongue			M.P.'s with FINNISH as their Mother Tongue		
	Total No. of M.P.'s	Swedish Bilingual	Swedish Unilingual	Total No. of M.P.'s	Finnish Bilingual	Finnish Unilingual
1919	24			176		
1924	25			175		
1930	24			176		
1939	24	24	0	176	67	109
1948	18	15	3	182	75	107
1965	19	17	2	181	80	101

Compiled from unofficial data supplied by H. Schauman.

Table II

Party Membership of M.P.s with Swedish as Mother Tongue in Selected Sessions 1919 - 1965

Session	Total No. of Parties	Total No. of Swedish M.P.'s	SFP	Social Democratic Party	SKDL	Other
1919	6	24	22	2		
1924	6	25	23	1		1
1930	6	24	23	1		
1939	7	24	18	6		
1948	6	18	14	2	2	
1965	7	19	14	3	2	

Compiled from unofficial data supplied by H. Schauman.

Rules of Order Act. During the total number of the selected six sessions between 1919 and 1965 there were no more than twenty-five members at any given session who had Swedish as their mother tongue. During the same period it is interesting to note (Table II on page C 121) that, while the total number of Swedish-speaking members has decreased (as has the proportion of the Swedish-speaking population), party membership of M.P.s with Swedish as their mother tongue has actually diversified. While the largest number of M.P.s with Swedish as their mother tongue belong to the Swedish People's Party, since 1939 a section of the Swedish-speaking electorate has been attracted to the socialist parties, so that there are now some Swedish M.P.s belonging to the Social Democratic Party and some to the largely Communist, SKDL party.

At the same time it is interesting to note that during the years 1939-1965 the number of bilingual Finnish-speaking members has increased to the point where approximately half the membership of the House understands Swedish.

It then seems reasonable to conclude that though the number of M.P.s with Swedish as their mother tongue has decreased somewhat since the language laws went into effect, and the number of Swedish-unilingual M.P.s is insignificant, the ability to understand Swedish has increased among the Finnish-speaking M.P.s.

Hence the position of the Swedish language in the House has not in fact declined since 1919 but has instead been bolstered by the increase in the total number of M.P.s able to understand it.

Use of Swedish and Finnish in the House and in Committees. Insofar as actual use of Swedish in the House is concerned it seems to be limited to formal speeches made by members of the Swedish People's Party (SFP). In answering questions asked of them while they have the floor, and in asking questions of Finnish-speaking members the members of the SFP generally use Finnish. In committees the use of Swedish is almost nonexistent as all M.P.s with Swedish as their mother tongue who are bilingual use Finnish as a matter of course. When unilingual Swedes are present the discussion in committee is still carried on in Finnish but the unilingual member is entitled to a personal interpreter who translates the proceedings for him; conversely when he (or a Swedish-speaking member) speaks in Swedish then a Finnish translation may follow if there are unilingual Finns present. It would appear, however, that the more active members of Parliament are well enough educated to understand Swedish and do not need translation services.[1]

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1. All Finns who have received secondary school education understand (or should understand) non-technical, everyday Swedish, for they have had instruction in Swedish from grade five on.

Finnish appears, then, to be the language of business of Parliament in both plenary session as well as in committee. It is suggested that this has been the case since the institution of the present form of Parliament in the years following Independence, and that members of the SFP use Swedish in formal speeches in Parliament mainly for purposes of party politics to indicate to their electors and to the country at large that the SFP continues to operate in its stated form as a militant pro-Swedish party actively engaged in its avowed purpose of protecting the Swedo-Finn cause and furthering its interests.

Language use in official documents. In addition to the Pöytäkirjat[1] (Parliamentary debates) in which the speeches appear in the original language, either Finnish or Swedish depending on the speaker, and the Swedish language résumés of the contents of the Pöytäkirjat[2], the Protokoll i sammandrag[3], there are several other official publications of Parliament of a bilingual character or unilingual but with parallel editions. All government propositions[4] and all other formal motions and communications in the House such as committee motions and propositions, private motions,

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1. See above p.C 117.

2. Series published since 1907. Note that the Pöytäkirjat do not appear daily, following debates, as does Hansard in Canada, but only every month or two during the session. The complete, bound volume appears at the end of the year.

3. Series published since 1907.

4. These must be presented to the House in both languages. Paragraph 2 of Article 88 of Parliament Act, above p. C 115.

and communications from the President or Cabinet, appear in the Finnish language publication, Asiakirjat.[1] In the Swedish language, parallel publication, Handlingar,[2] the contents of the Asiakirjat are duplicated in Swedish translation, or Swedish original, as the case may be, except for private motions originally made in the Finnish language which are not translated.

The laws of the land are published in two parallel annual series, the Finnish-language Suomen Asetuskokoelma and the Swedish-language Finlands Författningssamling.[3] Treaties, conventions agreements and notes exchanged between Finland and foreign states appear in the supplemental series to the Suomen Asetuskokoelma, the Suomen Asetuskokoelman Sopimmussarja in the original language or languages of the treaty, etc., with a Finnish translation where the original treaty, etc., does not have a Finnish original.[4] There is no Swedish translation of the treaty series. Committee reports are published in the original Finnish and at present these are apparently translated into Swedish

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1. Series published since 1907.
2. Series published since 1907.
3. Published since 1860.
4. Notes, agreements and conventions usually have no Finnish original and even treaties are frequently signed without a Finnish original.

only as the demand, necessity or occasion require,[1] although according to paragraph 2 of Article 88 of the Parliament Act all committee reports should be "drawn up" in both languages.[2]

In addition there are two official bilingual publications that can be considered as falling within the scope of Parliamentary documents. In the one, Eduskunnan Kalenteri, the official Parliamentary guide, biographies of members appear in Finnish for all members and also in Swedish for Swedo-Finn members. General information on Parliamentary offices, such as officials' titles, telephone and room numbers appear only in Finnish, except for Swedo-Finn offices, and officials.[3] The other bilingual publication, the official gazette, has a bilingual name, Virallinen Lehti in Finnish and Officiella Tidningen in Swedish, but is overwhelmingly Finnish in language content. Only when Swedish language communes or other interests are directly involved is the Swedish language used in the place of the Finnish.[4]

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1. Professor K.D. McRae in a visit to the Library of Parliament in Finland in July 1963 was told that approximately 60-70 unpublished, mimeographed reports appeared annually, and that only 2 or 3 of these were translated into Swedish. Among printed reports he was informed that in 1960 there were 14 in Finnish and 2 in Swedish; in the previous year there were 11 in Finnish and 5 in Swedish.

2. Cf. supra, p. C 116.

3. This is usage. There is no law directly concerning the Parliamentary Guide.

4. A check of several years issues in the 1950's showed that on the average no more than approximately 6 to 10 column inches out of approximately 360 columns per issue were in Swedish.

General attitudes toward the language situation.

It appears that both Swedes and Finns are completely satisfied with the language situation in Parliament. While the SFP would like to see more committee reports published in Swedish, it nonetheless recognizes the financial difficulties barring this, for a vastly increased translation staff would be needed, and since all, with very few exceptions, who use or are likely to use the reports understand Finnish there is really no pressure for removing this shortcoming, nor is one likely to develop.[1] According to a close observer of Parliament the language question "has caused no difficulties in Parliament", and "at the moment no changes in the situation are indicated."[2]

In conclusion, it appears that Parliament is overwhelmingly dominated by the "Finnish atmosphere", that Finnish is the working language of Parliament and Swedish the language of translation, and that the Swedo-Finn members accept this and use Swedish themselves primarily in the interests of partisan politics. On the above evidence it seems reasonable to suggest that the Swedish language would have disappeared even as a language of translation except for formal

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1. Based on an interview with a Swedish-speaking Member of Parliament.

2. Letter from H. Schauman, Librarian of Finnish Library of Parliament.

purposes, had there been no Swedo-Finn Party based on the central principle of language preservation. As the situation now exists it appears that the continued use of the Swedish language in Parliament is assured. Swedish may even be making indirect gains as the number of bilingual Finnish members increases, but this is not likely to result in any direct increase in the actual usage of Swedish either orally or in written documents.

Part Two - The Law and the Courts

1. Finnish Law

Finland has a Roman Law system, as it was developed in Germany and Sweden, central to which is the concept of codification. Even before the first modern codex -- the Napoleonic Code -- was drawn up in 1804, there was in the joint kingdom of Sweden-Finland a strong body of written law, known as the King's Law or the Decrees of the King, which was applied in the King's Courts throughout the united kingdom.

At the same time local, customary courts existed but, as in other parts of Europe, their historic powers were continuously encroached upon by the expansion of the King's Law. This process was particularly rapid after the establishment of a number of central courts with appellate jurisdiction over the local courts. Indeed with the setting up of autonomous government in Finland in 1809 the supreme appellate court formed half of the government,[1] as well as being the administrative body supervising the courts

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1. The Senate, as the governing Council of State was known, was divided into two parts, half of its members forming the Department of Economy and the other half the Department of Justice -- the Supreme Court of Appeal. See also R.A. Wrede, Finlands Gällande Civil Processrätt Vol. I (Helsingfors, 1953), p. 119.

and part of the government that made the laws.[1] The centralization has by no means disappeared: the government and the courts are still very much partners in the application of the law and in the control of lower courts. In the making of the law the courts still have no part.[2]

Hence by the beginning of the present century little customary law remained in the structure of the Finnish legal and court systems; the nineteenth century largely saw the completion of the systems in their present form. It must also be emphasized here that the growth of Finnish law during the nineteenth century depended on indigenous and Swedish sources, but not, however, on Russian ones. During the period of Russian hegemony only one serious attempt was made to enforce Russian law, that is, during the"calamity"of 1899-1905, but it was firmly rejected by the Finns. Thus, while the

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1. The centralization of law-making, administration of courts and appellate jurisdiction was absolute between 1809 and 1863, for the Diet did not meet during these years and the total role of law-making devolved to the jurisdiction of the Senate. This legal centralization decreased somewhat after 1863 but it did not abate to any great extent until after 1906, the year of the great parliamentary reforms. Even so it was not until after independence that Parliament was able to exercise overall control over law-making.

2. See below, section 5, The Court System.

basic sources of Finnish law remained mainly Swedish, its development was principally indigenous.

By the time of independence in 1917 the legal structure and the court system was sufficiently developed as not to require extensive changes;[1] nor have any sweeping revisions either of the law codes or the court system taken place during Independence. Slight changes are made continuously, of course, through the orderly process of Parliamentary and Presidential/Cabinet law-making by statute and decree. These continuous alterations reflect the changing configuration and circumstances of Finnish society and the desire of the Government and Parliament to keep the structure of law in conformity with the structure of society.

It is the duty of the courts to apply the written law, but the courts are not empowered to interpret or review law. The interpretation of the written law is performed by Parliament or by the President in Council. When Parliament performs this duty the main rôle is played by the Constitutional Committee in matters pertaining to constitutional law

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1. The independent Supreme Court was constituted on July 18, 1918, to take the place of the late Department of Justice. The court's composition, powers and duties were outlined in the Constitution Act of 1919 (Chapter V, Articles 53-60).

and by the Legislative Committee in matters concerning all other law.[1] When the President interprets a decree his decision must be made in the Council of State, as must all his official decisions, according to Article 34 of the Constitution Act.

There is no provision in Finland for normal judicial review of statute law. No statute of Parliament can be declared ultra vires by the courts. A type of judicial review is, however, exercised by the Council of State over Presidential decrees. According to Articles 35 and 45 of the Constitution Act, the Council of State has the right to request the President to withdraw or modify a decree which it has found to be contrary to law, and if the President persists in his decision then the Council has the right to declare the decision unenforceable.

The only duty of the Supreme Courts -- the Supreme Court and the Supreme Administrative Court -- in the area of interpretation and review is to make a formal request to the President for an interpretation of the law when they deem it necessary. These interpretations, of course, are made in the form of new law or revisions of old law, but not by means of executive ordinance.

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1. Articles 46 and 47 of the Parliament Act.

In Finland, then, there exists only one type of law, written law, or Statute Law (Laki or Lag), as supplemented by Presidential decrees (Asetus or Förordning) and Ordinances (Valtionuvoston päätös or Statsrådets Betänkande) passed by the Council of State.[1] The rule of stare decisis is not followed in Finnish law or by the Finnish law courts.

There is yet a further difference between the Finnish legal system, including the courts, and the Anglo-American legal and court systems. In Finland, through the working of the concept of Myndighet[2] the courts are considered to be part of the state in the sense that they are authorities of the state (or have state authority). This does not mean that the courts are an arm of political government, nor does it mean that they are a mere extension of the administration of the state. Indeed, insofar as judicial independence and political and legal irresponsibility are concerned, the Finnish courts and court personnel are on a par with their Canadian counterparts. The concept of Myndighet means rather that the courts have a higher formal responsibility than the Canadian courts. While

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1. Statute law enacted by Parliament is of course the basic law. Presidential decrees and Ordinances are passed by delegated powers to supplement statute law either on the basis of Article 28 of the Constitution Act (which forbids Presidential decrees to "imply a modification of a law") or on the basis of direct delegation of supplementary powers in a specific Act of Parliament.

2. This concept is common to all Scandinavian countries. Its Finnish equivalent is Viranomainen.

Finnish courts and judges have similar responsibilities they are in addition responsible for the state,[1] but not to the state.[2] Hence it could be said that a partnership in law exists between the political and administrative organs of government and the court system, for all are responsible for the state. That a balance of responsibility and jurisdiction can be held in this highly interlocking system must be credited to the concept of the "law-bound" society, a legacy of Swedish domination in Finland.

This concept of "law-boundedness" goes back for centuries in Sweden and indeed in all the Nordic countries, and has permeated Nordic society much more effectively and deeply than the much vaunted concept of British"rule of law"in the Anglo-American world or even in Britain. In this connection we must remember that the Swedish kings from the seventeenth century on ruled by law as applied by a centralized court

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1. I.e., not only for the good of all members of society but for society itself as it is expressed in concrete terms by the State.

2. The courts and judges are fully independent. The judges are, to be sure, appointed by central authority of the state at the higher levels but are removable only upon conviction by the same special constitutional High Court of Impeachment that tries the President and the members of the Council of State(Constitution Act, Article 59). The Courts and judges are not accountable to the political or administrative organization of the state.

system, and that most of them were themselves placed under the law. At the same time we must not forget that the four Estates in Finland and Sweden participated actively in the making of the law and in placing the kings under it. Furthermore the law was applied at the lowest level by boards of local citizens elected by their peers within the centralized system. This meant that the law, made in the capital by the Diet of Four Estates which was composed of representatives of all social levels, was promulgated by the King and applied under the control of the central courts by citizens elected locally. In effect the local citizen was applying the law that he himself had made. But, what was more important, the law applied locally was uniform across the state.

It is this fact of uniformity combined with representative law-making and application by local citizens that fostered in all levels of society a reverence for, and trust in, the law. Indeed it is to continue fostering this attitude -- which today's big, impersonal yet responsible government ironically destroys -- that even now the lowest rural courts still retain the direct participation of a number of locally elected citizens without legal training in the Court system.

An integral element in the concept of Myndighet and the idea of the "law-bound" society is the concept of equality before law. For our limited purposes

this can be seen in the application of the language knowledge demanded of court and administrative personnel. On a higher plane it is, of course, realized in the legal equality -- including all the connotations thereof -- of the two national languages.[1]

Because the courts are state authorities we find the language requirements demanded of their personnel listed as part of those demanded of all state servants of the same rank.[2] We see here administrative written law in operation: it proceeds from the principle to the particular, and only when the particular demands additional attention beyond the general requirements laid down by the principle, are exceptions made. In the case of court personnel, additional attention is demanded by the principle of equality before the law permeating the "law-bound" society. To assure perfect equality before law to the two languages, additional

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1. Professor Merikoski points out that this principle "has not been carried through to realization in every respect". V. Merikoski, "The Realization of the Equality of the National Languages in Finland" in Democracy in Finland (Helsinki, 1960), p. 83.

2. These requirements are found primarily in two laws: the statute, the Language Knowledge Required of State Servants (1.6. 1922/149) and the decree, The Application of the Language Requirements Demanded of State Servants (29.12.1922/312).

requirements, beyond those required of public servants of the same rank, are demanded of court personnel.[1]

Finnish law then is wholly written law made by Parliament or under the auspices of Parliament, and based on the precepts of the Constitution and the concept of the law-bound society. It is applied by the courts in conformity with their operative principles of equality before law and responsibility for the state, based on the position of the courts as integral parts of the authority of the state and the legal implications of the historic concept of "law-bound" society.

2. The Court System

Finland has a dual court system, the Regular Courts (Yleiset tuomioistumet), which handle civil and criminal cases, and the Administrative Courts (Hallintooikeudelliset tuomioistumet), which handle cases involving public servants and administrative law.

A. THE REGULAR COURTS

The regular courts are divided into three well-defined levels of general jurisdiction, with a number of courts with special jurisdiction over the lower and

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1. See detailed exposition below, section 3. Language Knowledge Required of Judiciary, pp. C 147 - C 148.

higher levels but subordinate to the Supreme Court.

Courts of Original Jurisdiction. At the lowest level of the regular court system there exist two classes of courts: Circuit Courts (Kihlakunnanoikeus or Häradsrätt), and in the urban areas there are the Town Courts (Raastuvanoikeus or Rådstuvurätt).

The Circuit Courts consist of a legally trained judge and a board (or jury) of between seven and twelve lay members, of whom five must be present at a hearing. The country is divided into seventy rural judicial circuits and each circuit is further divided into a number of assizes which meet at regular intervals.[1] The judge of a Circuit Court district chairs all the meetings of the assizes in his circuit but each assize has its own board of jurors. The judge is appointed by the Supreme Court on permanent tenure, but the jurors of the assizes are appointed for a period of three years. The court usually renders verdict on the unanimous decision of the chairman and the members of the court. If the chairman disagrees with the members then the decision rests with the united votes of the members of the court. If, however, the members of the court are divided in opinion among themselves, then the decision rests solely with the chairman of the court.

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1. As of 1958 the seventy circuits are divided into 185 assizes. J. Nousiainen, Suomen Poliittinen Järjestelma (Helsinki, 1959), p. 219.

The Town Courts are composed of a Magistrate (Pormestari) and at least two Councillors (Neuvosmiesta). The Magistrate is appointed by the Supreme Court from among three candidates named by the town (or city) authorities. The Councillors, on the other hand, are appointed by the Provincial administration from candidates nominated by the city authorities. While the Magistrate must be a fully qualified judge, the Councillors need only some legal training but do not require the special legal educational background of the judge.

The Town Court is competent to hear cases and render judgment with three members. In larger urban centres the Town Court may be divided into several sections, each having either general jurisdiction or special jurisdiction depending on circumstances. In Helsinki, for example, one section deals with maritime disputes, in which case the regular three members of the court are assisted in the hearing and the judgment by specialists in maritime law co-opted for the occasion.

Courts of Second Instance. The second level of jurisdiction in the Regular Court system is the Court of Appeal (Hovioikeus or Hovrätt). There are four of these in Finland: the Turku Court of Appeal (founded in 1623), the Vaasa Court of Appeal (founded in 1776), the East Finland Court of Appeal (founded in Viipuri in 1839, relocated in Kuopio in 1945), and the Helsinki Court of Appeal (founded in 1952). Each Court of Appeal

consists of a President and a number of puisne justices (Hovioikeudeunneuvos), who are appointed by the President of the Republic on the basis of nomination by the particular Court itself. The President of the Court is, however, appointed by the President of the Republic without any nomination.[1] Each court is divided ordinarily into several sections, usually four, with at least three judges in each.[2] The case load is divided among the different sections and the members of the Court are appointed to particular sections by the President of the Court. All sections handle all types of criminal and civil cases; there is no specialization by section.[3]

The Courts of Appeal are strictly appeals courts insofar as civil cases are concerned and mainly so with regard to criminal cases. However, they become courts of original jurisdiction in certain grave cases, e.g., treason, high treason and certain offences committed by public officials.

The Courts of Appeal when they act as appeal courts deal only by documentation; oral hearings are limited to instances of original jurisdiction.

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1. In all these appointments the President usually takes the advice of the Council of State, although he is not required to.

2. The court is competent to hear a case with a minimum of three judges, although more may sit on case.

3. However there appears to be some linguistic specialization, e.g. in an interview in 1963 with a Finnish-speaking member of the Helsinki Court of Appeal, Prof. K.D. McRae was told that the four Swedish-speaking judges of that Court (composed of 24-25 judges in all) were regularly assigned Swedish-language cases.

The Supreme Court. The Court of last resort for all civil and criminal cases is the Supreme Court (Korkeinoikeus) of Finland. The court is composed of a President and twenty-one puisne justices (Oikeusneuvos) who must be "upright jurists" with previous experience on the bench. All members of the Court, including the President of the Court, are appointed directly by the President of the Republic.

Cases must be handled by at least five members, unless the participation of a smaller or larger number is provided by law in specific cases.[1] The Court is strictly an appeals court except that it has both original and final jurisdiction insofar as impeachment of the President of the Republic is concerned.

The Court is also empowered to tender unilateral advice to the President regarding amendments or interpretations of laws or decrees when it deems such action necessary. Conversely,the President is required to

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1. In special matters concerning judicial administration which by reason of special regulations fall within the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court the Court is required to add temporarily the Head of the Ministry concerned to its composition in order to be competent to judge the case.

consult the Supreme Court in specific cases as to the legal or constitutional validity of certain legislation.[1]

In addition,the Court is also charged with the supervision of the lower judiciary and executive authorities concerned with the administration of justice.

Special Courts. There exist in Finland also four special courts which have original jurisdiction within their specified areas of conflict. The High Court of Impeachment has both original and final jurisdiction in cases involving the impeachment of the Chancellor of Justice, and of a Member of the Council of State, the Supreme Court or the Supreme Administrative Court. The three Land Partition Courts have original jurisdiction in cases concerning conflicts over land ownership.[2] Decision may be appealed from these directly to the Supreme Court. The Industrial Arbitration Court[3] has both original and final jurisdiction in matters concerning industrial strife. Finally there is the Workmen's Compensation Court[4] which has original jurisdiction in cases concerning compensation for injuries suffered by workers on the job. The decisions

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1. Before the President can veto Åland Assembly legislation he must seek the opinion of the Supreme Court.

2. Maajako-oikeus or Ägodelningsrätt. The three are known as the Turku, the Vaasa and the East Finland Land Partition Courts.

3. Työtuomioistuin or Arbetsdomstolen.

4. Vakuutusoikeus of Försäkringsdomstolen.

of this court may be appealed directly to the Supreme Court.[1]

B. The Administrative Courts

Since administrative law is so closely connected with and bound to the administrative organization of government in Finland it is difficult and perhaps meaningless to attempt a division of the Administrative Court system parallel to the Regular Court system. However, for ease of comprehension, we may speak of a four-part division in the application of administrative law. Of these parts only two are strictly judicial, the others being quasi-judicial in character.

Quasi-judicial administration of administrative law. At the lowest level the communal administrative officials and committees are given the right of decision in matters of administrative law, e.g., in the enforcement of health and fire regulations. The officials or committees operate under the jurisdiction of the communal authorities and are part of the communal administration. Their decisions are based partially on discretion and partially on the legal procedure authorized by law. All their decisions can be appealed to the Provincial Administrative Court.

At a higher level there are the administrative Regulatory and Administrative Boards (Keskusvirastot) or Central Authorities which operate as quasi-judicial

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1. See further in T. Tirkkonen, Suomen Prosessioikeus Paapiirteittain (Helsinki, 1955), pp. 53-55.

courts. They may be compared to the Canadian quasi-judicial regulatory boards such as the Board of Transport Commissioners, but cannot be compared to the discretionary administrative boards in Canada such as the Board of Broadcast Governors, since all Finnish regulatory and administrative boards operate strictly on the basis of administrative law. Their decisions can be appealed to the Supreme Administrative Court, or in special cases (as prescribed by law) to the Council of Ministers. In the governmental organization these boards form integral yet independent bureaus of various ministries charged with the regulation and/or administration of particular governmental activities: for example, the Board of Schools is an integral yet independent bureau of the Ministry of Education, and the Customs Board is similarly placed within the Ministry of Finance.

Administrative Courts proper. The first level of the Administrative Court system proper is formed by the Provincial Administrative Courts, of which there is one in each province. These courts are composed of the Provincial Governor who sits as President of the Court, the Provincial Legal Counsel or the Provincial Comptroller and the official of the provincial administrative authority in whose department the matter under consideration resides.[1]

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1. All of these permanent members of the court are of course members ex officio.

The Provincial Administrative Court acts as a court of first instance in handling all administrative legal conflicts involving any subordinate administrative authorities within the province, e.g., disputes involving officials and bureaus of the central government located in the province, or the communal administration or between two communes. The Court also acts as a court of appeal in considering appeals from the lower quasi-judicial communal officials or committees empowered to administer administrative law. The line of appeal from the Provincial Administrative Courts lies to the Supreme Administrative Court.

Final Administrative Court of Appeal. The Supreme Administrative Court is strictly a court of appeal. It consists of a President and fifteen puisne justices, appointed to permanent tenure by the President of the Republic. The court handles its cases precisely in the same way as the Supreme Court, that is, either by section or in plenary meeting in camera and, in strict accord with the law, discretion playing no part whatsoever in its decisions. The court conducts hearings by documentary argument only.

3. Language Arrangements In the Finnish Courts

Arrangements concerning the language usage in the two court systems depend on the physical location of the court, the particular demands of the case under review and the special regulations concerning language knowledge of the judiciary. We shall deal with these and related conditions in the following four subsections.

LANGUAGE DISTRICTING IN THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

There is no special language districting for court purposes in Finland.[1] In the Language Districting Ordinance presently in force it is decreed that the Turku, Vaasa and Helsinki Courts of Appeal are to be considered as Finnish or Swedish or bilingual depending on the language of the commune from which the appeal is made.[2] The language of the East-Finland Court of Appeal is, however,to be Finnish only.[3]

The Ordinance specifies which courts of original jurisdiction (Town Courts and Circuit Court Districts) are to be considered unilingual Swedish or Finnish and which bilingual within the jurisdiction of the above named four Courts of Appeal.[4] The decree then divides

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1. See Public Service chapter, section on language districting. The language ordinance presently in force is Ordinance 28.12.1962/687.
2. Cf. 28.12.1962/687, Chapter III, Article A.
3. Idem, paragraph 2.
4. The ordinance specifically decrees that all the Circuit and Town Court Districts within the jurisdiction of the East-Finland Court of Appeal are unilingual Finnish.

the 170 assizes into Finnish, Swedish or bilingual sub-Circuit Court Districts within the jurisdiction of the four Courts of Appeal.[1]

LANGUAGE KNOWLEDGE REQUIRED OF JUDICIARY

It is primarily on the basis of language districting that candidates for positions on the bench are required to show competence in language prior to appointment. A candidate for a vacancy in the Supreme Court or one of the three "bilingual" Courts of Appeal is required to show complete knowledge of the language of the majority,[2] and an "ability to speak and write" the language of the minority.[3] The same requirements apply to judicially qualified appointees to bilingual courts of first instance, that is, to magistrates in bilingual Town Court Districts, and to judges in bilingual Circuit Court Districts. The non-judicially qualified members of a Town Court in a bilingual district need but "sufficient" knowledge of the two languages. As for the members of the Assizes board or jury, in a bilingual district the same requirement of "sufficient" knowledge applies. In practice,

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1. Idem, Article C.
2. The districting decree specifically points out in paragraph 1 of Article A that the three Court of Appeal districts in question have a Finnish language population majority.
3. See diagram in Public Service chapter, section on language requirements.

however, it appears that this results in the appointment of fairly even numbers of Swedish and Finnish speakers (some of whom may be competent in both languages) to the board or jury.

LANGUAGE IN COURTS

In order that they may best serve the public, the courts have been subjected to various language requirements. These, in accordance with the concept of lex scripta, have been specifically detailed.

Language rights of parties. In general, parties may use either Finnish or Swedish in all courts. In addition, any individual called before a court as a witness, or for any other reason, is entitled to use whichever is his mother tongue, irrespective of the language of the court district. This proviso, however, does not mean that counsel may file a petition, introduce Swedish documents, or use the Swedish language in a Finnish language court district on the grounds that his own mother tongue is Swedish when his client's language is Finnish.[1]

Further, parties before the court and individuals called as witnesses have the right to demand an interpreter when the court proceedings are conducted in the

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1. In criminal cases, interpreters for other languages than the national languages are provided by the state in cases of need.

other national language. Theoretically, even a university graduate who has passed the State Service language examinations could demand an interpreter when the other national language is used in court, provided he is not appearing in court in his official capacity as a representative of the state administration. This technical provision is sometimes taken advantage of by bilingual Swedish-speaking respondents in order to elicit a more co-operative attitude on the part of the prosecution in areas where Swedish is seldom spoken and the court would have difficulty in obtaining an interpreter.[1]

Language duties of the court. Within unilingual districts the court is required to use the language of the district in its hearings, with the exceptions listed above. All documents in unilingual districts must also be drawn up in the language of the district. However, the court shall, in cases where an original document is drawn up in the other language than that of the unilingual district, append to it a legally valid translation if the party concerned so requests, always provided that he is entitled to use the language that is not that of the court district in question. In the case of documents filed in court in another language than that provided by law for that court, the court in question must procure a legally valid translation, the party or parties concerned being obliged to meet

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1. One interviewee pointed out that he was familiar with at least two such cases.

the cost of translation. This duty to procure translations only pertains to documents written in the two domestic language; the Language Act does not authorize the procurement by the state of translation of foreign languages.

In bilingual court districts the courts may conduct the hearing, keep the record and issue the documents in either Finnish or Swedish depending on the language used by the party or parties concerned. When these parties wish to use different languages they may do so. The language of the records to be kept and the documents to be issued by the court shall in the latter case be, (1) the language agreed to by the parties, or (2) if they cannot agree on one then the language of the majority of the district, provided that the court does not decide otherwise in view of the rights and interests of the parties concerned.[1]

Language of appeal and appeal decision. Higher courts are required to issue the decisions and relevant documents in the language used by the lower courts in the initial stages of a case. There are no requirements as to the language to be used by the members of the higher courts when dealing with a case.[2] However, it appears that the language used by these courts is almost without

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1. Language Act, Chapter I, Article 6.

2. It will be recalled that courts of second instance review cases in camera on documentary evidence alone.

exception Finnish even when the case under consideration is wholly documented in Swedish. There are suggestions, however, that the superior courts do attempt to give the Swedish language cases to those of their members who speak that language better and more fluently.[1]

LANGUAGE IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE COURT SYSTEM

The language divisions in the Administrative Court system depend on the administrative language districting. It is purely the language content of the territorial jurisdiction of an Administrative Law Court or quasi-court that decides whether it is to be considered unilingual Finnish, Swedish or bilingual.[2]

All procedures, including procedural rights of parties before the courts or quasi-courts and the duties of courts and quasi-courts are mutatis mutandis the same as those in the regular court system within the respective unilingual and bilingual districts.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EXISTING LANGUAGE PROVISIONS

It appears that the language provisions in the Court systems are working to the satisfaction of both Finns and Swedo-Finns.[3]

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1. Having passed the Public Service language examinations all Appeals Court judges in three of the four Appeals Courts districts should be able to understand and speak both languages to a competent degree. Cf. also supra, p. C142, fn. 1.

2. See discussion of administrative language districting in Chapter on Public Service.

3. My interviewees have neither read nor heard of any dissatisfaction on this score during the past twenty years. Merikoski points out that "the system has not occasioned any difficulties worth mentioning." Merikoski, op.cit., p. 92.

APPENDIX

Finnish administrations and their political composition, 1917-65

	Administration		Peoples Patriotic Party (fascist)	National Union Party (Cons.)	Finnish Peoples' Party (Lib.)	Swedish Peoples' Party	Agrarian Party	Social Democratic Party	Finnish Peoples' Democratic Party (Comm.)	Administrative Experts
1.	Svinhufvud I	27.11.17	-	2	6	1	2	-	-	-
2.	Paasikivi I	27.5.18	-	3	6	1	2	-	-	-
3.	Ingman I	27.11.18	-	3	6	2	3	-	-	2
4.	K. Castrén	17.4.19	-	2	9	1	4	-	-	1
5.	Vennola I	15.8.19	-	-	4	2	4	-	-	1
6.	Erich	15.3.20	-	-	8	1	4	-	-	1
7.	Vennola II	9.4.21	-	-	4	1	6	-	-	12
8.	Cajander I	2.6.22	-	-	1	2	4	-	-	2
9.	Kallio I	14.11.22	-	4	2	3	5	-	-	11
10.	Cajander II	18.1.24	-	6	1	2	6	-	-	1
11.	Ingman II	31.5.24	-	4	2	3	5	-	-	1
12.	- " -	22.11.24	-	6	1	2	6	-	-	1
13.	Tulenheimo	31.3.25	-	4	1	2	6	-	-	4
14.	Kallio II	31.12.25	-	6	1	2	6	-	-	1
15.	Tanner	13.12.26	-	-	1	2	6	13	-	3
16.	Sunila I	17.12.27	-	-	1	2	10	-	-	3
17.	Mantere	22.12.28	-	3*	6	2	6	-	-	3
18.	Kallio III	16.8.29	-	3	2*	2	10	-	-	1
19.	Svinhufvud II	4.7.30	-	3	1	2	4	-	-	3
20.	Sunila II	21.3.31	-	3	2	2	6	-	-	1
21.	Kivimäki	15.12.32	-	4*	4	2	2*	-	-	3
22.	Kallio IV	7.10.36	-	2*	2	1	9	-	-	1
23.	Cajander III	12.3.37	-	-	2	2	5	5	-	1
24.	Ryti I	1.12.39	-	2*	1	2	4	4	-	2
25.	Ryti II	27.3.40	-	1	1	3	3	4	-	2
26.	Rangell	3.1.41	1	1	1	2	4	4	-	2
27.	Linkomies	5.3.43	-	2	1	2	4	5	-	2
28.	Hackzell	8.8.44	-	1*	1	1	4	5	-	2
29.	U. Castrén	21.9.44	-	-	1	2	4	6	-	3
30.	Paasikivi II	17.11.44	-	-	1	1	4	4	4	3
31.	Paasikivi III	17.4.45	-	-	1	1	4	4	5	2

/Continued

	Administration		Peoples Patriotic Party (fascist)	National Union Party (Cons.)	Finnish Peoples' Party (Lib.)	Swedish Peoples'Party	Agrarian Party	Social Democratic Party	Finnish Peoples' Democratic Party (Comm.)	Administrative Experts
32.	Pekkala	26.3.46	-	-	-	1	5	5	6	1
33.	Fagerholm I	29.7.48	-	-	-	-	-	15	-	1
34.	Kekkonen I	17.3.50	-	-	2	3	10	-	-	-
35.	Kekkonen II	17.1.51	-	-	1	2	7	7	-	-
36.	Kekkonen III	20.9.51	-	-	-	2	7	7	-	1
37.	Kekkonen IV	9.7.53	-	-	-	3	8	-	-	3
38.	Tuomioja	17.11.53	-	4*	3*	2*	-	-	-	6
39.	Törngren	5.5.54	-	-	-	1	6	6	-	1
40.	Kekkonen V	20.10.54	-	-	-	-	6	7	-	1
41.	Fagerholm II	3.3.56	-	-	1	1	6	6	-	1
42.	Sukselainen I	27.5.57	-	-	3	4	6	-	-	1
43.	-	2.7.57	-	-	4	-	9	-	-	1
44.	-	2.9.57	-	-	2	-	6	5*	-	2
45.	von Fieandt	29.11.57	-	-	-	1*	-	-	-	13
46.	Kuuskoski	26.4.58	-	-	1*	-	-	4**	-	9
47.	Fagerholm III	29.8.58	-	3	1	1	5	5	-	-
48.	Sukselainen II	13.1.59	-	-	-	1*	13	-	-	1
49.	Miettunen	14.7.61	-	-	-	-	9***	-	-	6
50.	Karjalainen	13.4.62	-	3	2	2	5	-	-	3****
51.	Lehto	18.12.63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
52.	Virolainen	12.9.64	-	3	2	2	7	-	-	1
		TOTAL	1	69	101	59	233	121	15	132

* Sitting as Non-Party Experts
** Representing the Social Democratic Opposition
*** The Prime Minister sat as Non-Party Expert
**** Members of the powerful SAK - central organ of state servants unions.

Table based on J. Nousiainen, op. cit., p. 189; J.H. Wuorinen, History of Finland (N.Y.,1965), pp. 430-431; and assorted newsreleases in Finnish newspapers (for 1960-1965).

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February 1966.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

PART THREE:

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1. Historical developments

The national capital, Helsinki (or Helsingfors in Swedish), was founded by Gustavus Vasa of the joint kingdom of Sweden-Finland in 1550, but it did not become the capital of Finland until 1812 when a Decree ordered the removal of the Government of Finland thither from the ancient capital of Åbo (or Turku in Finnish).

Though the city by this time was over 250 years old it was a city in name only, being in reality but a haphazardly built small town. Perhaps fortunately the war of 1808 reduced a considerable part of the city to ashes so that a large scale reconstruction programme had to be instituted. The rebuilding of the city took place under the able guidance of the German-born, Finnish architect, C.L. Engel, who imprinted the stamp of his concept of what a capital should be both in the grandeur of the public buildings that he designed and in the layout of the city. The original buildings still stand and dominate the city, and Engel's plan for the city remains virtually unchanged. However, the city soon grew beyond its original borders as the population increased at a rapid rate (see Table I). The additional planning periodically required by the growth of the city has been carried on throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the basis of the town planning theories and fashions in contemporary vogue, by a

planning committee of the city government, without much direction from the state government. Nevertheless, the aura of a national capital is clearly evident in the physical setting of Helsinki.

Undoubtedly the fact that the population of the city has always had a bilingual (and even multilingual) base, has in the past added to its "national" capital character. This influence, though always present, has during the past century and a half changed a great deal. The trend, however, has been in the direction of more Finnization on a proportional basis, and, during the last half century, even on an absolute basis (see Table II).

TABLE I

The population of Helsinki 1815 - 1960

1815	4,801
1850	20,745
1870	28,519
1890	61,530
1900	91,216
1910	138,856
1920	180,684
1930	233,073
1940	317,314
1950	367,462
1960	452,777

Sources: Annuaire Statistique de Finlande, 1951, Table 12 and Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962, Table 14

2. Population

At the beginning of its period as the national capital Helsinki was overwhelmingly Swedish, with a small minority of Finns forming between one sixth and one fifth of the total population. A century and a half later (1950) the situation had been reversed, with the Finnish speakers making up four fifths of the population and the Swedish speakers only one fifth. Although the trend toward Finnization began early in the nineteenth century it was not until 1890 that the Finnish-speaking population caught up with and passed the Swedish-speaking population in size. By 1900 the city was unmistakably Finnish, with the Finnish population standing at 47,280 and the Swedish population at 39,539, or, in percentage terms, 54.5% to 45.5%. Thereafter the Finnish population continued to grow at a rapid rate, increasing six-fold in the next fifty years (1900-1950) and again by almost a third of its 1950 size in the next decade, whereas the Swedish population increased only by three quarters of its 1900 size in the same fifty years and actually declined in the ten years following 1950, from 71,000 to 65,000.

Four reasons can be given for the large increase of Finns over Swedes. The most significant of these factors is undoubtedly the growing urbanization of Finland, and as Helsinki is the only metropolis in Finland its powers of attraction are great for both Finns and Swedo-Finns alike. But since the latter only make up 7.4% of the total population of the nation,

it is to be expected that any influx of "immigrants" to the capital would reflect this proportion.

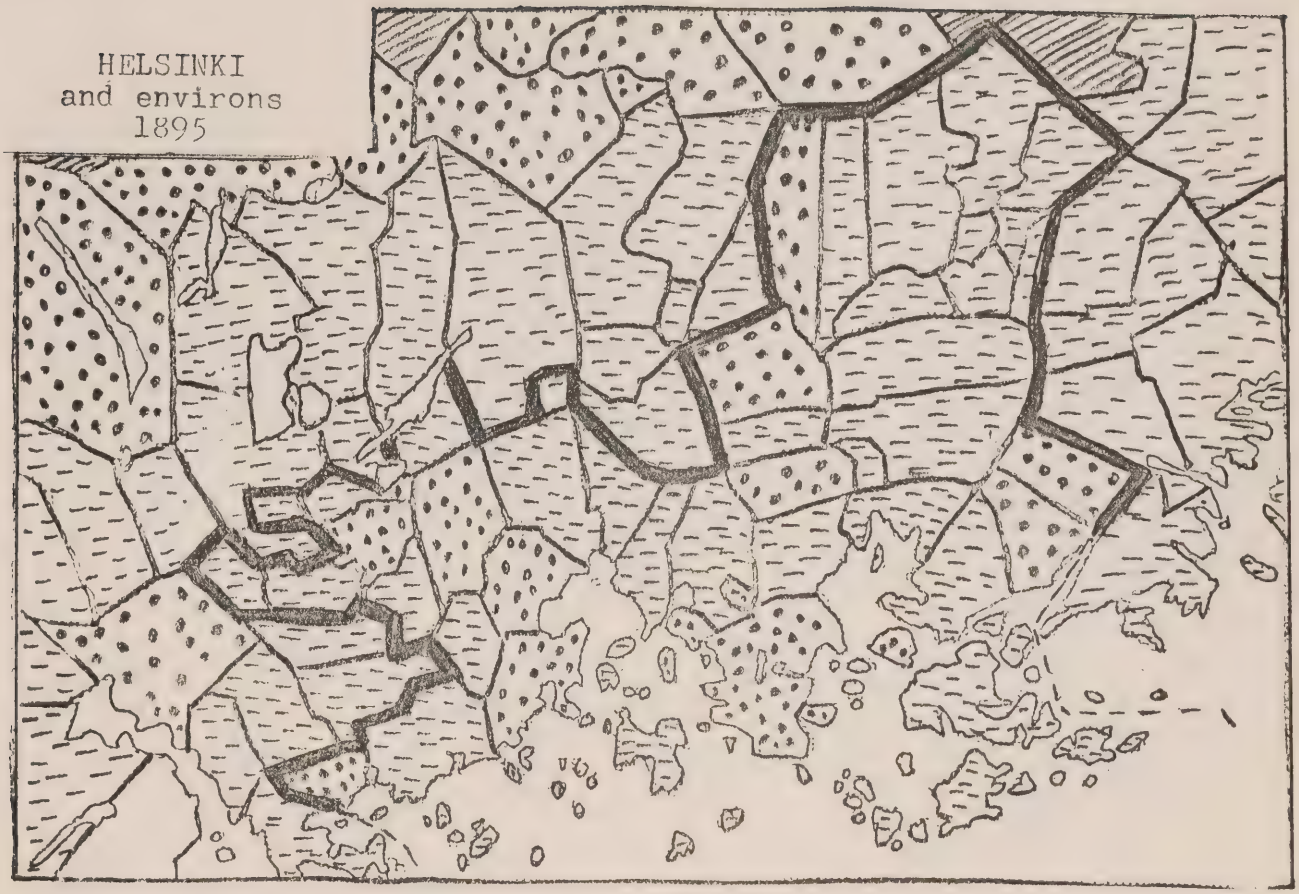
A second factor, corollary to the urbanization trend in Finland, that has certainly added to the rapid decrease in the Swedo-Finns proportion of Helsinki proper, lies in the periodic annexation of large tracts of built-up areas surrounding the city. Since most of these areas have been heavily Finnish, the percentage of Swedes in the total population has usually dropped after these annexations.[1]

The discrepancy in the birth rates between the two groups can be taken as a third factor in the growing differential between the population proportions of the Finns and the Swedes. For example, whereas the national urban average of births per thousand among Finns in 1941-1945 was 19.3, among Swedes it was only 16.5. When conditions had returned to normal after the war, the urban birth rate for the former group increased by 5.6 per thousand to 24.9 per thousand, while for the latter the increase was less than half of that of the Finns, or only 2.3 per thousand for a total of 18.8 per thousand. The difference in the birth rate between the two groups had thus increased from 3.4 to 6.1 per thousand.[2]

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1. See Maps I and II.
2. The figures given are for the year 1948. For 1946 and 1947 the differences between the two groups were 5.0 and 5.4, respectively. Cf. G. Fougstedt, "Återväxten bland finlandssvenskarna", Finsk Tidskrift, Vol.II, 1949, p.58. Note also that the war and post-war rates were much higher than those of the decade preceding the war. Cf. also G. Fougstedt, "Finlandssvenskarnas Livsfråga", in op.cit., Vol. CLIII, 1953, pp.7-12 regarding net reproduction rates. The fertility index (whole nation = 100) for Swedo-Finns in Helsinki during 1938-1943 was 59, compared to 61 for the Finns. Further comparative figures are unfortunately not available.

MAP I



Finnish concentration

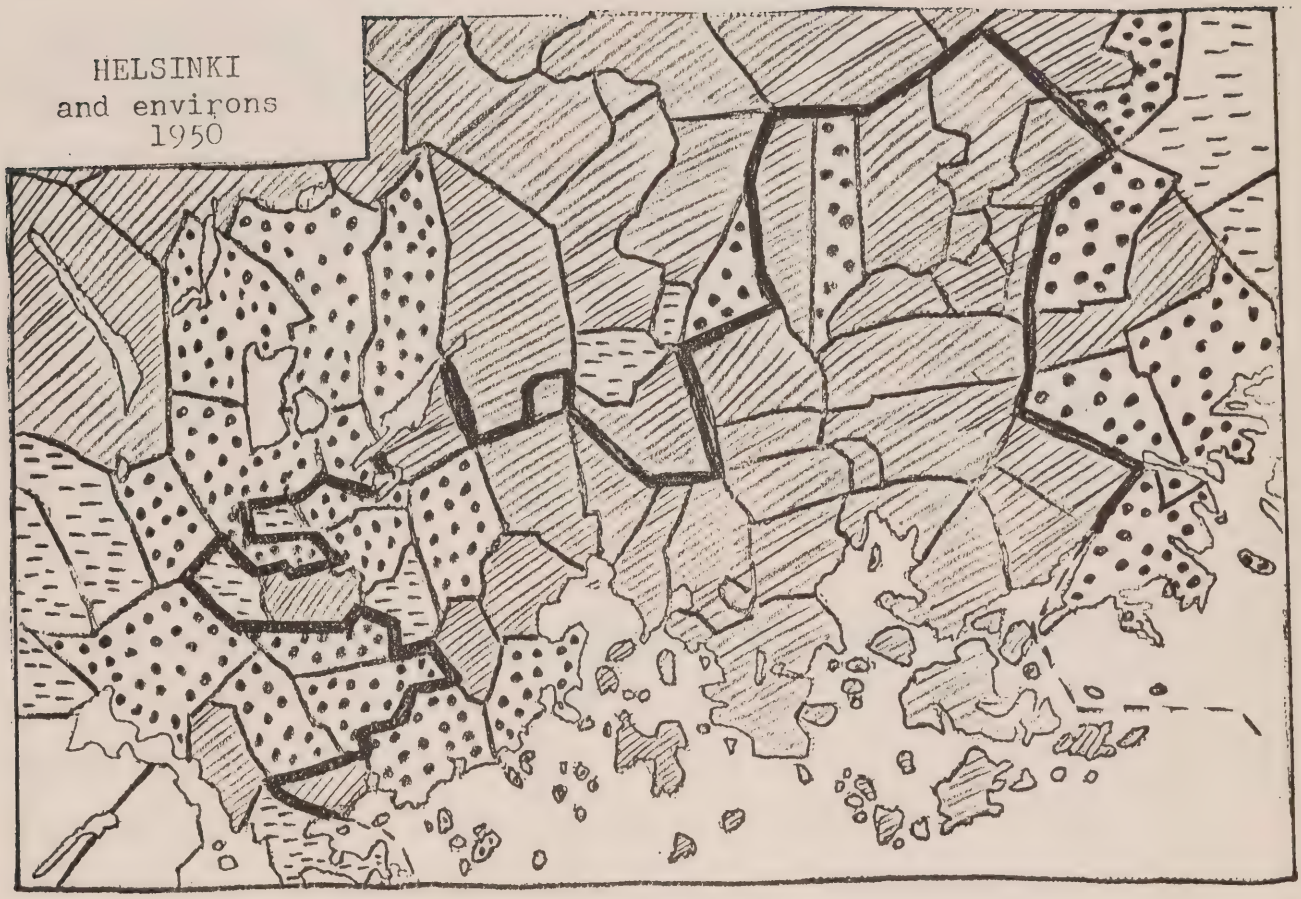
0 - 30%
30 - 60%
60 - 100%

Swedish concentration

70 - 100%
40 - 70%
0 - 40%

= the 1950 city boundary

MAP II



Finnish concentration

0 - 30%
30 - 60%
60 - 100%

Swedish concentration

70 - 100%
40 - 70%
0 - 40%

= the 1950 city boundary

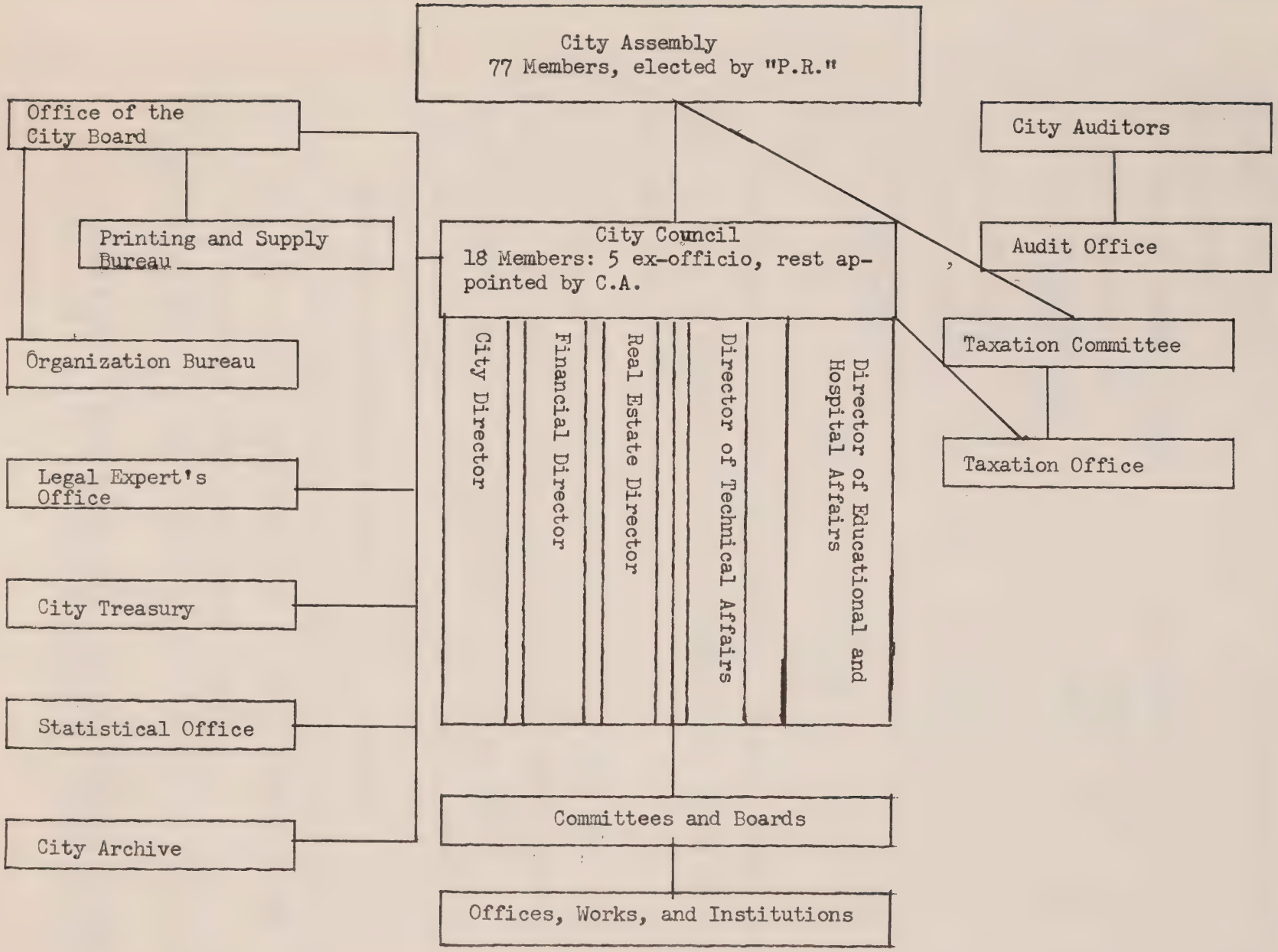
A fourth factor of considerable importance is the "Finnization" of Swedo-Finns which simply means that, since society is overwhelmingly Finnish-speaking, the Swedish speakers must conform to the norm of the majority in order to operate successfully within it. Finnization of Swedo-Finns takes place mainly in two forms: either by the Swedo-Finns being forced to use the Finnish language as a result of socio-economic forces,[1] or by mixed marriages in which case the children become predominantly (approximately 62%) Finnish-speaking.[2] In both of these cases Helsinki is the ideal place for this Finnization to take place. The Finnish influence pervades the town, for Helsinki is the intellectual, political and cultural capital of Finland as well as being metropolis of the land.

3. The administration of the city and the Swedish minority

The city of Helsinki[3] operates on the basis of the same Municipal Law (at present, that of 27.8.1948)[4] as all other communes in Finland, whether of city, town or rural status.[5] This provides for election by proportional representation of a City Assembly of (in the case of Helsinki) 77 members.

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1. The pressures increase with the increase in education until, at the level of careers requiring university graduation, success depends to a significant extent on ability to speak Finnish.
2. Cf. G. Fougstedt and T. Hartman, "Social factors affecting the choice of language by children of Finnish-Swedish mixed marriages in Finland", in Transactions of the Westermarck Society, Vol.III (Copenhagen, 1956), pp. 34-54.
3. Fig. 1 describes the administrative organization of the city.
4. The law contains 215 Articles divided into 11 chapters and is of a general prescriptive nature. Neither Helsinki nor any other commune is ever mentioned by name.
5. See Appendix A in chapter on Institutions.



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FIG. I THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY ADMINISTRATION

In Helsinki, as in all municipal elections in Finland, this is done on a party basis. In 1963 the make-up of the Assembly was as follows:

Finnish Conservatives	-	21 members
Social Democrats	-	15 members
Peoples Democrats (Communists)	-	14 members
Swedish People's Party	-	13 members
Finnish Liberals	-	11 members
Social Democratic Opposition	-	3 members
Total		77 members

This means that politically the Swedo-Finns through their party have 16.9% representation for their 14.4% share of the population of Helsinki.

At the administrative level they are equally well off, for of the 18 members[1] of the City Council (composed of ex-officio members and members appointed by the Assembly) in 1963 there were three (or 16.7%) who were Swedish-speaking.

Insofar as employees of the city are concerned, in 1959, of the total of 13,942 employees, 11,093 were Finnish-speaking and 2,849 were Swedish-speaking, or, in percentages, 20.1% of all city employees were Swedish-speaking.[2]

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1. Data supplied by a city official in an interview with Prof. K.D. McRae in 1963.
2. The linguistic divisions are based on the language of the school attended. Thus the figures do not exactly indicate the number of Swedish by "home language" or "mother-tongue".

4. City language regulations

Few language regulations are imposed on communes by state legislation.[1] Helsinki, however, has developed its own language regulations[2] covering employment policy. There are five levels of language competency: two for higher and three for lower positions. At the highest level a candidate must demonstrate both "complete mastery of the Finnish language", and "good" ability to write and speak Swedish.

At the second level (Category II) the candidate in addition to "complete mastery of Finnish" must demonstrate "satisfactory" ability to write and speak Swedish. Categories I and II include heads and deputy directors of the more important city departments, bureaus and agencies (or approximately 95 types of positions in all of which only five types fall in the first category). All these positions require a university degree. Applicants are normally asked to demonstrate knowledge only in one language, for it is assumed that they fully master the language of the school from which they have graduated. Thus, graduates of Swedish schools must demonstrate competence in Finnish, and vice versa.

For lower positions (Category III) candidates are required to have "good ability to write and speak Finnish" and "ability to speak and write Swedish satisfactorily". In Category IV the Finnish clause is the same as in the previous category but the Swedish clause is changed to read, "ability to speak

1. Cf. chapter on Public Service, pp. A121-A125 and A127-A128.
2. City By-law 9.1.1949: Regulations Governing the Language Knowledge of Helsinki Civic Servants.

Swedish". Categories III and IV include city bureau and agency chiefs and their deputies not included in the first two categories. These positions are also normally filled by university graduates. The difference in the requirements of Swedish between Category III and Category IV appears to be mainly in the frequency with which the holders of these positions normally come in contact with the public in that language and whether their positions require them to issue administrative decisions to the public in the Swedish language. For example, whereas the city architect, city engineers and the chief of purchasing in the Water Works are included in Category III, hospital accountants, psychologists and the assistant to the director of the city abattoir are included in Category IV. The two categories include approximately 300 types of positions, of which 115 are in Category III.

All positions not listed in the first four categories fall in Language Category V in which the holders of positions are required merely to be able to speak Finnish satisfactorily. This category includes mostly hourly rated city employees.

Language regulations also apply to City Assembly meetings, which are conducted in both languages. In 1963 the Chairman of the Assembly was bilingual but the vice-chairman spoke only Finnish. The latter when presiding used an interpreter. Minutes of Assembly decisions are kept in Finnish only but those concerning Swedes are translated.[1] Debates, on the other

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1. Minutes were kept in Swedish only down to the first decade of the present century.

hand, are recorded in the language in which they are spoken.[1] In the area of written public communication both languages are used, even to the point that Assembly news releases are issued in both languages.

One other institutional area where language is of great importance is education. As do other bilingual communes, elementary schools in Helsinki operate under the direct control of two independent school boards, the Finnish and the Swedish Elementary School boards, each in complete charge of its own schools.[2]

5. Community relations in Helsinki

As has been indicated already, all Finland has, particularly since Independence, been increasingly dominated by the Finnish language and the atmosphere of Finnization. This "atmosphere" has been and is as prevalent in Helsinki as elsewhere, if not more so, for Helsinki represents the "seat" of all that is Finnish in the eyes of Finns. Of course, for the Swedo-Finns it is also an important centre of Swedo-Finn influence and culture, particularly since it has the largest urban concentration of Swedes in Finland, in addition to having the largest urban

1. Swedish-speaking members are reported to speak generally in Swedish, except when involved in heated discussion or when making an important point.
2. No information is available on the number of schools, teachers or pupils in Helsinki. For information on the make-up of the Boards, see the chapter on Education.

proportion of Swedes of any city in Finland. Hence, it is clear that the Swedes look to Helsinki, but so also do the Finns, and since the latter are in an ever-increasing majority it is no wonder that the "Swedishness" of Helsinki is decreasing. Most Swedes in Helsinki, however, have accepted this with equanimity and are rarely bothered by the disappearance of Swedish language street signs, or the inability of the police[1] or taxi-cab drivers to understand them in Swedish, or other such petty inconveniences. Most Helsinki Swedes have also, in accepting "Finnishness" as a way of life for their city, learned to speak Finnish to compete with the Finns in their own language.

The Finns, on the other hand, after the healing of the fervid nationalistic outlook that pervaded Finland for two decades prior to World War II, have come to tolerate the Swedish fact. This, in the case of Helsinki, means accepting the simple fact that the Swedish language cannot be rooted out of the public institutions of the city. This has given rise to a psychological acceptance of Swedish as a language even in non-public activity, such as private business, although for obvious business reasons even the remaining predominantly Swedish-language firms are rapidly changing their external operations into Finnish. As one banker put it, "with Finns we deal in Finnish, with Swedes in Swedish. It is simple business logic."

1. Police constables are state employees and come under state, not municipal, language regulation. At the constable level there are some language requirements but in the case of Helsinki these seem to have become more theoretical than real. It was suggested to Dr. McRae that many Helsinki policemen are recruited from central or northern Finland, where knowledge of Swedish is rare.

6. The Future of Helsinki as a bilingual capital

Despite the gloomy future that the drop in the Swedish population presages, it is probably safe to predict that as long as Helsinki remains the "metropolis" of Finland, so long will both Finns and Swedes flock there and some degree of bilingualism will continue to survive. The degree of official public acceptance of this bilingualism will, however, depend on both the absolute number of Swedes and the proportion that they form of the population. If either decreases too much then it is quite probable that the remainder will largely "throw in the sponge" and accept the dictates of the majority language. However, as long as the present language laws remain in force -- laws which guarantee a bilingual status to any commune that has a minority language population of at least 5000 -- Helsinki will remain at least "officially" bilingual.[1]

1. Cf. Chapter on Public Service, section on language rights of citizens, p. A 116.

TABLE II

Population by language (Helsinki) 1870-1960

Year	Actual population							By percentage					
	Sw.	Finn.	Russ.	Germans	Other	Unknown	Total	Sw.	Finn.	Russ.	Germans	Other	Unknown
1870	18,323	8,303	3,878	562	1,042	-	32,113	57.0	25.9	12.1	1.8	3.2	-
1880	22,549	14,672	4,169	726	1,022	4	43,142	52.3	34.0	9.6	1.7	2.4	0.0
1890	29,860	29,787	3,656	818	1,389	25	65,535	45.6	45.5	5.6	1.2	2.1	0.0
1900	39,539	47,280	4,399	709	1,016	220	93,217	42.5	50.0	4.7	0.8	1.1	0.2
1910	47,907	80,792	5,466	911	1,235	186	136,497	35.1	59.2	4.0	0.7	0.9	0.1
1920	53,727	103,205	1,474	1,189	1,236	90	160,921	33.4	64.1	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.1
1930	62,579	152,510	1,857	1,529	1,315	52	219,842	28.5	69.4	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.0
1946[1]	(73,305)	(268,293)	.	.	.	-	341,598	(21.4)	(78.6)	.	.	.	-
1950	71,029	294,311	2,499	604	926	13	369,380	19.2	79.6	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.0
1960	65,338	384,206	other 3,233				452,777	14.4	84.7	other 0.7			

Sources: M. Klövekorn, Die Sprachliche Struktur Finnlands 1880-1950 (Helsingfors, 1960), p. 75; and Statistical Yearbook of Finland, 1962, Table 14.

1. There was no war-time census in 1940. The 1946 figures are estimates based on contemporary running records.

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